CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

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Conference reports on:

WOMEN IN COLONIES

THE UNITED STATES OF INDONESIA

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

EDITORIALS:

CHENNAULT'S MANEUVERS
AMERICA'S BEST INTERESTS

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Rieview.

CRITICISM AT FUHTAN

To The Editor:

Fuhtan University is universally acknowledged as a strong bulwark of democracy as most of its teachers, students and employees are very progressive. Since liberation we have made much progress by means of self-criticism and mutual criticism, but it is really not easy to make good and proper use of these two weapons of Marxism-Leninism.

We must wash our faces in the morning. If we fail to do so, they will become dirty. It is obviously true that we are sometimes blind to the mistakes of ourselves. Therefore, mutual criticism is required, otherwise we cannot be free from repeating mistakes. But sometimes our mistakes appear in such an ambiguous form that they can hardly be detected by others. It is then that self-criticism is indispensable and self-criticism is also a sign of being ready to receive mutual criticism.

As mutual criticism and self-criticism are being extensively practised in Fuhtan University, I think it is necessary to dwell upon their relation to each other.

We all know that uncritical condemnation and uncritical praise are both very dangerous. But to be critical of others as well as of ourselves is not so easy as we think it to be, and the greatest obstacle to its being practised is foolish pride. It is apparent that some people are afraid of being criticized, and it is foolish to wish such people to criticize themselves. This shows that before we put into use these two weapons, we have to get rid of foolish pride, which is one of the characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie. In order to prove my argument, it may not be out of place to cite the following instance.

In the past few days, some who failed to observe the austerity regulations in the use of water and electricity received unsparing criticism. At first they were angry at the criticism, but before long they became convinced and realized the reason they had been censured. Now, as far as I know, they are no longer lavish in using water and electricity. In order to adapt our lives to the new situation, such typical traits of the bourgeoisie as caprice, selfishness, dishonesty, indolence, irresponsibility, foolish pride and individual heroism are all targets which deserve being criticised. Some of us, including teachers, used to go to classes late, but by means of criticism this bad habit has been corrected.

In conclusion, I quote from Chairman Mao Tze-tung: "Man is not in a position to be free from making mistakes. Only self-criticism and mutual criticism can help him avoid making them. There are only two kinds of people who can be free from making any mistakes: those who have not yet been born, and those who lie in their graves."

FRANCIS H. CHOW

Fuhtan University
Shanghai
December 22, 1949

CHINA'S DANGER

To The Editor:

Many people seem to think that the greatest danger to China is American imperialism, but I don't think so, for in the future imperialism will be overcome. However, I think that the greatest danger China has to face is the harmful qualities of the petty bourgeoisie who form the greater part of the Chinese people.

In the dark period of oppression, the petty bourgeoisie were also oppressed and they too hated the darkness; they too craved for a revolution long before the sunrise. At this time they appeared progressive, especially the professional class, which was considered the most progressive one.

When the revolution became a reality, the petty bourgeoisie wanted to join the camp of revolution, but many of them felt utterly lost. The revolution was not the romantic affair they had imagined. Quite the contrary, revolution means hard work. The road to freedom is very long and innumerable difficulties have to be overcome.

They were finding many things they weren't accustomed to such as: the revolution wants everyone to prefer the collective interests to the individual interests. But the petty bourgeoisie with their deep affections are bound to individual interests. The petty bourgeoisie want to become famous, to be popular, but the revolution wants no individual reputation. Individual freedom is what the petty bourgeoisie cares for, but the revolution does not allow any kind of individual freedom in the revolutionary camp. For these reasons, the petty bourgeoisie lack the courage to join the revolutionary camp, although they wish to become a part of it.

In the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie are selfish, they do not have firmness and stability, they are changeable. They will even betray the revolution and become anti-revolutionary when collective interests are opposed to their individual interests. These qualities are harmful to the revolution, are hindrances in the construction of a new China, are invisible but dangerous enemies of our people and also of world peace. Therefore, I call the bourgeoisie characteristics the greatest danger to China.

CHAN ZINE

Normal University
Peking
December 17, 1949

KWEIYANG UNIVERSITY

To The Editor:

For the past five months, since the liberation of Shanghai, I have not had a chance to read any Reviews. Now, with the liberation of Kweiyang, the unhappy days are past.

The Nationalist army evacuated from Kweiyang 10 days ago, and the People's Liberation Army arrived in the afternoon of the 14th. One day after their entry, we found them in our school. They are so brave and well-disciplined that we feel very happy.

We are now enjoying quiet and freedom. We have seen no terror or violence, and the reactionary bureaucrats and plutocrats are gone. No longer do we read reactionary papers, in which appeared words like "arrest," "kill," and "American aid." Instead, we see everyone with such smiles and pleasant actions that China seems to have become prosperous in a short time. We read new books and newspapers in which we find words like "new birth," "struggle," "reconstruct," "liberty," and "democracy."

I feel very fortunate that we were liberated so easily and quietly. Being one of a great number of youths (I am 18) who have lived almost one-third of my life under a reactionary rule, I now look forward to at least 40 years of a free and pleasant life.

But we, my professors and schoolmates, cannot forget what the president of our university did. While the PLA was still far away from Kweiyang, he fled, together with his family, taking with him all the money upon which the professors and students depended for existence. As a result, all of us suffered greatly.

Now all of us regret that we let him keep his appointment for as long as eight years. Chang Tin-show was not only no scholar, but he squeezed and exploited the university instead of trying to improve it. He was also said to be a member of the Nationalist gestapo. More than 100 professors and students were

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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AMERICA'S BEST INTERESTS

THE most cursory examination of the American State Department's policy toward China demonstrates that it is formulated and implemented by men who are not a little confused. The blithe ignoring of facts, the repeated piling of one contradiction upon another indicate an uncertainty of mind and the lack of a clearly-defined, logical policy.

There is one clear and incontestable fact which may be separated from this welter of confusion. That is: The present policy of the State Department is not in the best interests of the American people.

* * *

SECRETARY Acheson, as the public formulator of this policy, has demonstrated his hostility toward the new government of China. This is reflected in the frequently biased broadcasts of the Voice of America, one of the agencies of the State Department. On the other hand, he apparently finds little that he likes in what is left of Nationalist China. According to the White Paper, this has been true for quite some time.

Faced with contradictions and conflicts in interests at almost every turn, Secretary Acheson seems to have got himself—and the American people—in something of a mess. He says he wants to see a peaceful, united and democratic China. Now that there is a regime in this country which promises, at long last, to bring about such a state of affairs, he doesn't want to recognize it because it is led by Communists.

He says, in his letter accompanying the White Paper, that the Nationalists are no good and haven't been for several years. There was never, he says, much doubt but what they were doomed to extinction. Although he helped them in the past, he now doesn't want to have anything more to do with them. However, he cannot bring himself to withdraw recognition, although he obviously doesn't believe they are worthy of continued recognition, because then he would be faced with the choice of recognizing no one, or recognizing the new Communist-led government.

Mr. Acheson does not recognize the Nationalist blockade of the China coast as legal. In fact, he has told the Nationalist regime that the United States objects strenuously to its interference with the free passage of American ships in and out of liberated ports. Specific and "strong" protests have been made to the Nationalists over the shelling of some of the American ships running this "unrecognized" and "illegal" and thus "non-existent" blockade.

On the other hand, Mr. Acheson is quite irritated at those American shipping firms which have insisted upon ignoring this illegal blockade and calling at liberated ports. Just last week he delivered himself of a warning to all American sea captains, threatening to revoke their licenses if they persist in running the blockade. Mr. Acheson singled out for particular attention the captain of the "Flying Arrow," a ship preparing to attempt to run the blockade into Shanghai, reminding the captain that he was responsible for the safety of his passengers and telling him not to consider the illegal and unrecognized blockade as non-existent.

As Secretary of State Mr. Acheson is supposed to look out for the best interests of American businessmen abroad, helping them whenever and however he can. To a considerable extent the prosperity of the internal American economy—and the political future of his own party—depend upon how well he accomplishes this responsibility. Thus, he is busy negotiating with various powers throughout the world in attempts to improve things for American businessmen. Reciprocal tariff agreements are promoted, lowering and removing of other trade barriers are eagerly urged. Meanwhile, Mr. Acheson counsels caution and patience to those American businessmen who are daily complaining that British and other competitors are getting in on the ground floor of the new trade with China.

It has been suggested by some observers that the reason why Mr. Acheson has so far withheld recognition of the new government is because he has some doubts as to whether or not the new China is really an independent entity, functioning on its own. He suspects, so the White Paper infers, that the new government in Peking may be merely a satellite or vassal of Moscow. Therefore, he wishes to wait a while in order to ascertain just how free and independent the new regime is.

However, he has apparently seen fit to believe that the new United States of Indonesia, the name given to the puppet regime just installed by the Dutch in Indonesia, is a free and independent regime. Recognition was expected momentarily at press time. Further, it has been rumored—and not denied—that he is considering recognition of the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China, a puppet outfit which even the French privately admit has no real authority.

Other observers have stated that Secretary Acheson cannot recognize a regime whose methods of government and whose general actions do not meet with the approval of the American Government. However, Secretary Acheson recognizes the government of the Soviet Union, which he obviously does not approve of.

The whole question of approval, as well as the question of how a government comes to power

was dealt with recently by James Reston, writing in the *New York Times*, who said, ". . . When we recognized the new French revolutionary government of 1848, President Buchanan declared:

" 'In its intercourse with foreign nations, the government of the United States has, from its origin, always recognized de facto governments. We recognize the right of all nations to create and reform their political institutions according to their own will and pleasure. We do not go behind the existing government to involve ourselves in the question of legitimacy.'

"Thomas Jefferson was perhaps the most eloquent advocate of the argument that it was not for the people of the United States to approve or not to approve the governments with which the United States exchanged ambassadors. He insisted that the United States, of all nations, whose independence was gained by revolution, must not seek to insist on regimes that came to power by constitutional means. 'The tree of liberty,' he asserted, 'must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. . . The only thing essential is the will of the people. . .'

"John Bassett Moore, after a lifetime in the study of international law, came to the conclusion that the 'approval' principle of recognition was a preposterous and mischievous supposition. 'Not only is this supposition contrary to the elementary principles of international law, which assure to each independent state the right to regulate its domestic affairs, but it is flagrantly at variance with the facts,' Mr. Moore said."

No matter what the reasons, it is obvious that Secretary Acheson has not handled the matter very well. In the last analysis, he is supposed to look after the best interests of the American people. There can be no doubt but that he has failed miserably in this task. Never has American prestige been at such a low ebb in China, and never before has such a large stock of good will toward the American people among a foreign people been dissipated so rapidly. The British, the French—all other Western governments—have managed to avoid the pitfalls into which Acheson has stumbled.

The fact remains that the people of China have changed their government and have estabablished a new regime which in every way appears a stable one and one destined for a long life. Whether Acheson likes its political color is a matter of considerable indifference to the Chinese people. Fictions of constitutionalism, or convenient interpretations of legalism will not change the hard facts of the situation. It is in the best interests of all the America people—traders with merchandise to sell, shippers with bottoms to fill, farmers with food to sell, bankers with money to loan, industrialists with goods to sell, workers with jobs to hold—that the US recognize the new People's Government of China. So long as Mr. Acheson fails to withdraw recognition from the Kuomintang remnants and accord it to the new government, he is failing to look after the best interests of the American people.

CHENNAULT'S MANEUVER

PRESS dispatches from Hongkong last week reported that General Chennault and his partner, Whiting Willauer, claim that they have purchased the properties of China's two major airlines, China National Aviation Corporation and Central Air Transport Corporation, from the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Following this announcement Chennault and Willauer filed claim in the Hongkong supreme court, asking that all properties belonging to these two airlines, which at present are located in the British colony, be turned over to them.

First obstacle to Chennault's and Willauer's scheme came in the form of an announcement from New York by Pan-American Airways, the minority stockholder in CNAC, which pointed out that the contract under which CNAC was established prevented any such sale without the agreement of both parties. CNAC, it will be recalled, has long been operated as a joint Sino-American enterprise, with the old Nationalist regime holding 80 percent of the stock and Pan-American Airways owning the remaining 20 percent.

Apparently feeling that such a legal contract was too difficult to tackle, Chennault and Willauer withdrew their claim to CNAC property. The second blow to their hopes followed soon after when the Hongkong court rejected their application to be joined as plaintiffs, along with the Nationalist regime, in an eviction action against CATC employees in Hongkong, who have switched their allegiance to the People's Government and who are protecting the company's property in Hongkong.

Just where the matter now stands is not clear since press reports from Hongkong are a bit sketchy. However, it may be presumed that Chennault and Willauer will not give up without a further fight. Local observers, though, seem agreed that they have a rather slim chance of actually getting control of CATC's assets in Hongkong since it is thought that British recognition of the People's Government will be forthcoming in a matter of weeks, at the latest, and that the Hongkong courts would then scarcely be in a position to entertain any further such applications from Chennault and Willauer.

* * *

PERHAPS it would not be out of place to recall at this time a few of the highlights of the post-war history of Chennault's operations in China. The story began, for all practical purposes, with the granting of permission by the National Government for Chennault and Willauer to establish what was supposed to be a short-time airline for the supposedly altruistic purpose of hauling urgently needed UNRRA relief and reconstruction supplies to the more inaccessible parts of China.

While the details were never made public, it was announced that a portion, believed to be the vast part, of the money required as capital for this airline was put up out of UNRRA relief money. Whether UNRRA supplied the foreign exchange for the purchase of the planes and the hiring of the American pilots directly, or whether

UNRRA-CNRRA supplied the local currency and the National Government supplied the foreign exchange was never revealed to the public. In any event, though, Chennault and Willauer got their airline started by using somebody else's funds as capital—in this case United Nations funds originally destined for the relief of the war ravaged Chinese people.

The result, however, was that Chennault's airline, then known as CNRRA Air Transport, was established. Later, after the relief and rehabilitation days were over, the airline was already a going concern and was reincorporated as Civil Air Transport, a private airline owned by Chennault and Willauer. The part the company played in supporting the Nationalist's cause in the civil war is well known, as is Chennault's personal support given in public speeches and in testimony before official bodies in America. Not so well known, though, were the activities of such companies as International Suppliers, Incorporated, which functioned hand in hand with CAT.

The shameful story of ISC-CAT profiteering out of the miseries of the people is well known. Residents of towns such as Paotow will undoubtedly remember for a long time the days when the city was under seige and the only method of entrance and exit was via CAT planes—all seats upon which had previously been chartered by International Suppliers.

In fact, many people in many places well remember the days when airline tickets—always cheap because of government regulation and the rapid inflation—were unobtainable from CAT because all space had "previously" been chartered by International Suppliers who, it subsequently developed, were quite willing to resell their space provided the traveler was willing to pay several times the legal rate.

The full story of the operations of this modern-day East India Company—as the Chinese press has referred to Chennault's organization—would be an eye opener for many people, and would serve as an object lesson for any other regime in Asia contemplating the employment of foreign helpers to aid in the task of maintaining control.

With the last days of the Nationalist regime in sight, the end of an era has arrived. No longer will it be possible for big time operators, such as Chennault and Willauer, who succeeded in establishing their own private airline on capital provided out of United Nations relief funds, to cut a wide swath through China.

Willauer is quoted in a press dispatch as saying that he and Chennault might continue their operations in Japan and in other Asian countries. It may still be possible to undertake such activities in some of the other countries of Asia, but there, too, the days of the international freebooters are numbered. The example of the old Nationalist government in China should be a lesson to all the other national governments of Asia. If a government is so rotten and in such bad shape that it cannot on its own command the support of its people, the sharing of the spoils with international adventurers in return for their help in holding the lid on will be of little avail.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

American Minister's Sentiments

December 27, 1924

If we may be permitted the liberty of summarizing the American Minister's (Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman) ideas in one or two sentences, we might say that what he has in mind is this: There is a pronounced revolutionary sentiment existing in China which is evidenced in the public statements and writings of the leaders of the country and in the public press. We (the Powers) have got to recognize the existence of this sentiment and meet it with concessions, otherwise we are likely to lose all we have in the general chaos which may come. Or to state the situation in still another way, the Treaty Powers and China have permitted their relations to drift to the point where they have got to get together and save what they can and build anew, or on the other hand they may permit the situation to drift (as it has drifted since the Washington Conference) until the radical and bolshevik elements in the country gain the upper hand, scrap the treaties, break off relations between China and the Treaty Powers and then wait an extended time until China can reconstruct on her own account, unaided by the Powers, some new kind of state.

Flash Of Steel

Was that not a neat—and unexpected—passage at arms which occurred in the Council Room of the Municipal Building on December 16, when representatives of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese Ratepayers Association met with representatives of the Shanghai Municipal Council and of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps for the purpose of presenting tokens of appreciation from the Chinese public bodies to the Volunteers for their work during the recent unpleasantness in and around Shanghai. That the words of passers-through live after them was clearly demonstrated when Mr. Yu Ya-ching, after leading up gently to a climax, subtly remarked: "Since the Chinese residents here constitute the majority of the population, and since the foreign nationals in our midst are but guests on Chinese soil, the success of the emergency measures should mean and does mean more to us than to our foreign neighbors." Colonel Gordon in replying had the rebuttal position of which he lost not the opportunity to avail himself. After accepting the handsome cup handed over by Mr. Yu, and leading up as subtly as had the previous speaker, he remarked in turn: "We shall always value it (the cup) as a memento of the kindly sentiment of your Chamber of Commerce toward our little civic army which helped to keep the peace in Shanghai during that time of stress and you can rest assured that should circumstances arise where the safety of the Settlement and its neighborhood is again threatened that the Volunteer Corps will once more prove a very present help in the time of trouble. What Shanghai has, Shanghai holds."

It was all very neatly and quietly done but the flash of steel as well as that of wit was there: the gauntlet was dropped and picked up before it had touched the floor. . . .

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

New Year Prospects For 1940

December 30, 1939

Prospects for 1940 thus unfold as a series of possible alternatives, with a number of imponderables lurking in the background. Only one thing is certain: the destinies of mankind are firmly harnessed to the chariot of war. More countries and more peoples will be sucked into the expanding orbit of death and destruction. Increasing suffering and misery will be the lot of huge masses of people. Happy New Year? Hardly.

Vatican Gives Concessions

The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith has extended to Catholics in China the permission granted some years ago to Catholics in Japan and Manchukuo to take part in certain non-Catholic rites, Reuter reports from Vatican City.

Rites such as bowing to statues and reliefs of Confucius, it is stated, are an expression of patriotism, and in this matter Catholics may conform to general usage.

Women In Colonial Countries

Delegates to the Asian Women's Conference in Peking report on the life and struggle of women in their countries.

OUEZZIN Coulibaly, fraternal delegate from the Ivory Coast, said polygamy is practised in French West Africa, and "woman lives on the edge of society, having no right to take part in men's conversation or political activities."

"The colonial contract," Miss Coulibaly said, "made possible the draining of all products, the non-industrialization of our country and unilateral trade. The 'indigent' or 'negro code' made possible the enslaving of our people as beasts of burden, subjecting them to forced labor, imprisoning them without trial and paying only 250 francs when a white kills a black. In Africa, only four out of 100 children can afford to go to school. There is no school for girls. Almost all of the African women are illiterate.

"In the schools, students are taught to have a holy respect for the whites. It has created a stock of submissive men, incapable of standing upright. The colonialists wished thus to create a bourgeoisie connected with the exploitation of our brothers."

Miss Coulibaly said the Constituent Congress of the African Democratic Assembly (RDA) was formed after the war and within a year had nearly 1,000,000 members. "Its objectives were so clear and its foundation so firmly laid among the masses," she said, "that the colonial authorities became afraid of its strength. The whole administrative system, headed by the judicial and police machinery, was set in motion against the young movement. Arrests, imprisonments, police brutalities took place everywhere. All the committee members of the RDA were arrested, and they have been detained 11 months awaiting trial."

At this point, she went on, the women decided to form an autonomous movement of their own, and a committee of women has now been established. Describing some of the activities which it is coordinating, she said:

"A woman was arrested arbitrarily by the police. She was thrown into prison without trial. Immediately the women of Abidjan mobilized more than 3,000 and went to besiege the tribunal in impressive calmness. The woman was given back to the besiegers. This was the first victory.

"At Bahfora there occurred an act of bloody repression which killed two and wounded several. The justice of peace and the police commissioner went to the village with a huge police force. The place was surrounded. People were arrested, tied up and hauled into military trucks. Immediately the women of the RDA lay down on the road, covering a length of about 30 meters. It was the rainy season. The vehicles could pass nowhere but on the road. Everywhere else was swampy. But the road was covered with women who were waiting to be run over by the trucks. The police had to untie the prisoners and set them free in order to get away."

Miss Coulibaly concluded: "We know why the French government insists on suppressing all democratic movements in its territories. Since the President of the United States said that American capital would only be invested in countries which were politically secure, the henchmen of imperialists have waged a ferocious war on us." Therefore, she added, the women of the Ivory Coast are continuing the struggle for peace and liberty.

Algeria

MADAME Saya Allouchiche, representative of the Algerian Committee of the International Federation of Democratic Women, declared that "in spite of all the official pronouncements which classify it as a French department" Algeria "is in fact a colony" and against its will is being turned into a military base.

"Today the American imperialists are planning to make North Africa play a first rank role in the war of aggression which they are preparing," she said. "They have included Algeria in the Atlantic Pact against the frequently expressed will of the whole population. The Atlantic coast of Morocco has become the landing point of the Americans. After Dakar, Port Lyautey in Morocco was made an American naval base. The Algerian ports of Algeris, Oran, Bone and Mers El Kebir have received visits from British and American admirals. They are interested in air bases; 40 bases in three lines parallel to the sea have been established."

Madame Allouchiche declared that "never has the military budget of Algeria reached such a high figure as now; out of a total of 42 billions (francs-ed.), 18 billions have been allocated to the preparation for war, while the maintenance of the army appears in the budget of France."

Meanwhile, she said, "the Algerian woman is crushed by the poverty of the home, the miserable wages and the absence of all social protection. Her children have no schools. Only one child in ten goes to school. . . We bring our children into the world in hovels without air and without light, under deplorable hygienic conditions. Our children die from epidemics against which nothing is being done. There are not enough pharmacies and hospitals in the cities and none at all in the countryside. In certain regions there is only one doctor for 100,000 inhabitants!"

"The deterioration of living conditions, and especially the force of the desire for national liberation," she said, "have drawn the Algerian women, particularly those of Moslem origin, into the struggle by the side of their husbands, their brothers and their sons."

Lebanon

VICTORIA El Helou, the delegate from Lebanon, charged that the Lebanon Government is playing "the role of broker to British and American imperialists."

"This has become especially evident in its attempts to form the Arabian League," she said. "The League is the kitchen where the imperialists concoct plans for making our country into a base for aggression against the Soviet Union."

Describing the women's movement in Lebanon, Miss El Helou said: "It was not until recently that the Lebanon League for Defending the Rights of Women came into being. It is the only genuine democratic women's organization in Lebanon. It demands equality for men and women in the social, economic and political fields. Its essential aims are to struggle for national liberation, for peace, against imperialism, and for the rights of women. Branches of the League have been set up in several cities and their adjoining regions, including Tripoli, Jbeul, Zalhi, Antliass and Elhadass.

"It has recently organized a demonstration of mothers, demanding that the government open classes for their children who are thirsting for knowledge but have no school to enter. It has lodged a protest with the UN against the barbarous dictatorship of Husni Zaim in Syria. It sent a delegation to Syria, protesting against the Syrian government. It lodged a protest with the consulate of Argentina. It lodged a protest with the UN against the arrests and executions of Greek democrats.

"The reactionary government exerts its efforts to curb the activities of the League. Before my departure from Lebanon, four members of the League were in prison. They were imprisoned because they had led a demonstration of mothers protesting the shortage of schools and demanding free tuition and the reduction of the price of books."

Iran

MAHINE Farokhi described the long-drawn-out struggle of women in Iran against a "feudal regime of exploitation, supported and aggravated by the imperialist greed for petroleum and the natural resources of Iran."

"The women workers work 10 to 12 hours in inconceivable conditions without sanitary facilities or any security," she said. "They generally earn one half and sometimes only one sixth of the miserable wages of men. There is no social protection for them and, with the appearance of the first signs of pregnancy, they are thrown out of the factories. The absence of nurseries compels the women in many cases to tie their children to the machines while they work. It was only last year that a mother leaving her child on a cotton pile in a factory came back from her work to find her baby crushed by a truck."

According to the Iranian constitution, she reported, "women, lunatics and children have no right to vote."

With the end of the war, she said, the democratic movement in Iran began to make headway, and in Azerbaijan "a democratic constitution was enforced in which women were for the first time considered as equal to men

and gained all the political, economic and social rights."

However, she added, when the Red Army and British troops withdrew from Iran, American imperialism "seized the position" formerly held by British imperialism and "brought the Iranian army and economy under its control."

"On the pretext of ensuring the security of the country, the government troops under their control invaded Azerbaijan in December, 1946, massacred the population, executed 15,000 democrats, and drove their wives and children into the concentration camp Badre Abad (unwholesome region in the south)," she said. "The Iranian Women's Democratic Organization was persecuted and its organ banned. Many of the men and women workers and democrats, including responsible personnel of the IWDO, were jailed."

Citing the influx of American military missions and advisers to Iran, Miss Farokhi declared: "The seven-year project of colonization enables them to interfere in all affairs. Strategic bases and airfields are built up throughout the country. They have imposed on Iran the purchase of more than US$36,000,000 dollars worth of American arms. The Iranian army has been reorganized along American lines. As a result of the military expenses, which amount to 32 percent of the budget, and the importing of American goods, the feeble national industry is ruined, thus greatly increasing the number of unemployed."

But Iranian opposition is mountings. "The Iranian Women's Democratic Organization has carried its struggle underground," Miss Farokhi said. "Despite the repression, two illegal democratic journals have appeared. Women form committees in defense of political prisoners, demanding their release and rendering help to their families."

Syria

AMINE Aref Hassan, delegate from Syria, said women in her country "work 10, 12, 14 and sometimes even 16 hours a day" at totally inadequate wages.

"At Homs," she said, "young girls of 14 wind silk from cocoons. They work 16 hours a day for 100 piastres; the foremen, to make them work harder, whip them with their sticks; moreover, the young girls serve as toys for their employers and their sons.

"The women workers who work on the highway earn only 100 piastres a day for 16 hours of work and their children whom they bring with them are left under the son and in the dirt. . .

"The living conditions of peasant women are the same as those living in the Middle Ages."

Miss Hassan described sanitary conditions as "lamentable" and reported that "there is only one maternity home for all Syria. No hospital is seen except in very important cities. The villages have neither hospitals, clinics, nor anything like a country doctor."

As for the rights of women, she said: "Legally, women have the right to dispose of their properties, but in fact they belong to the husband who threatens his wife with divorce if she refuses to yield all she possesses to him. For a man has the right to divorce his wife, while a woman has no such rights. Besides, a man is permitted to have four wives.

"The women of Syria can also bear witness before the court, but it is prescribed that the testimony of one man equals that of two women. Men have the right to vote and to be elected, while women have only the right to vote on the condition of possessing a certificate beforehand."

While there are several women's organizations in Syria, Miss Hassan said, "they represent chiefly the bourgeoisie" except for the Union of Syrian Women for the Defense of Mothers and Children, which "struggles for peace, national liberation and the defense of the rights of mothers and children," and in so doing "is frequently repressed" by the government. After a peace demonstration on October 2, the secretary of the organization and seven of its members were arrested, she reported.

"Now, she added, "the government has promulgated a new law which provides that the members of any organization which affiliates itself to an international movement without the government's authorization are subject to the penalty of three months' to one year's imprisonment."

India

AMITA Devi, the delegate from India, said the women's movement there forms a part of the "general struggle of the Indian people for real independence."

For a time, she said, the women's movement was centered about the All-India Women's Conference (AIWC) "whose sole aim was to sidetrack the main political issue involving women's problems by channeling the entire question towards reform."

But after the war, when "the AIWC, many of whose leaders became ministers, governors and ambassadors in the present satellite government, took a positive stand against the tide of the democratic women's movement," women began to leave the organization, and in November, 1948, following a visit to India by a WIDF commission, an All-India women's convention was held in Calcutta under the auspices of the West Bengal Women's Self-Defense League and the foundation laid for the formation of a "broad-based All-India women's organization."

Appeal To Women In Asia And Elsewhere

DECLARING that "only where people are masters of their destinies will real emancipation for women be possible," the Asian Women's Conference issued a call to the women of Asia to "unite with all the forces struggling against imperialism."

The message charged that, in addition to the use of force against national independence movements, the American, French, English and Dutch imperialists are resorting to "more hypocritical forms of domination" by creating puppet governments in many of the colonial countries.

"The role of these so-called independent governments," the message said, "is to more effectively deceive the oppressed people and to perpetrate imperialist oppression."

Another appeal called on the women of the United States, Britain, France and Holland "to stop the crimes of your governments in Asia."

"Dear sisters, never forget that a people which oppresses another can never themselves become free," the appeal declared. "Beware! For if you do not determinedly oppose this criminal policy of your own governments, your living standards will sink still lower and the danger of world war will grow and your own children will always be in danger."

The conference urged American, British, French and Dutch women to take the following steps:

"Stop all colonial wars. Insist that your governments withdraw their troops from Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaya and Korea.

"Oppose with all your might the intervention of your governments in the life of Asia.

"Support all proposals made at the UN in favor of popular independence.

"Insist on the reduction of armaments and military appropriations, and the outlawing of the atomic bomb.

"Intensify the struggle for real democracy in your own countries. Each victory you win over imperialism is also a victory for us.

"Stand by our side in the struggle for a stable and lasting peace for the whole world."

In a unanimous resolution, the conference also expressed approval of "the activity for the defense of democracy and peace carried on by the Women's International Democratic Federation since its establishment" in 1945.

The resolution hailed the decision of the WIDF to convene the Asian Women's Congress and asked that preparations be made "for the establishment of an organization in Asia to strengthen the women's organizations in the various countries in Asia and to ensure closer contacts with the WIDF."

The WIDF now has branches in 59 countries.

Originally scheduled to meet in India, but refused permission by the Indian Government, the Asian Women's Conference convened in Peking from December 10 to 16. It was attended by 165 delegates from 14 countries: Burma, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Korea, Lebanon, Malaya, Mongolia, Siam, Syria, Vietnam and the USSR. In addition, there were 33 fraternal delegates from nine countries: Algeria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Holland, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, and the United States.

"The following facts," Miss Devi declared, "will clearly show what the Nehru Government is and against what our women and people are fighting today:

"The government of India is actually ruled by the representatives of half a dozen plutocratic families who control between them the greater part of the native industry, banks and newspapers. These men and their gigantic trusts are directly linked up with Anglo-American big business. . .

"This betrayal of the government has resulted in a rapid deterioration in the material condition of the masses. Unemployment among workers, peasants and intelligentsia has reached unprecedented dimensions. But the profit figure of the capitalists has risen feverishly. According to their own admission, since 1939 profits have risen 680.5 percent in textiles, 278.8 percent in coal, 159.4 percent in the general index of all industries. . .

"The problem is even more accentuated by the government's heavy armament expenditure. While the whole of India is faced with famine, 50 percent of the financial expenditure of the government has been geared to the maintenance of police and military.

"Against these monumental crimes of the Indian government, the people of India have risen. In the two years of 1947-48 alone, no fewer than 3,445 strike battles were launched. . . The men and women peasants in Telegana, South India, are fighting with arms to protect their hard-earned liberated soil. The share croppers' struggle of Bengal peasants continues in spite of unheard of repression.

"Huge strikes of teachers, employees and students against retrenchment and the government's policy of increase in school fees in the united provinces, Bombay and Calcutta, were met with bullets, and bayonet charges. The complete gagging of the democratic press in most of the provinces, the virtual illegalization of the Communist Party of India and the particularly savage attack on workers' rights to trade union activities, the banning of such organizations and arresting of thousands of leaders, including the president, S.A. Dange, who has been kept in jail without trial during the past two years, has only increased the indignation of the people.

"There is not a single week in Calcutta when people do not come out to face the police might, to demonstrate their just indignation towards the insane policy of the government. . . The middle class employees, students, teachers, artists and writers—every section of the people except the big bourgeoisie and landlords—hard hit by the government's policy, are more and more participating in the general struggle against imperialism.

"In these struggles our women are as vailant and death-defying as the rest of our people. In West Bengal, where the democratic women's movement is particularly strong, in the past few monthe no fewer than 32 women have been shot down and killed in demonstrations and meetings. . . On April 27, this year, the police fired point blank on a demonstration of women demanding better treatment of political prisoners, killing four heroic leaders of our women's movement on the spot. On September 9, the police opened fire on a demonstration of hungry peasant women and children demanding food from the landlord, killing 10 women and two children and wounding many others.

"The Women's Self-Defense League of West Bengal is virtually illegalized. Its leaders are either arrested or driven underground. Its paper has been banned. Our president, Manjusri Devi, has been arrested under the criminal act for political activities and kept in prison without trial.

Miss Devi said Indian women have responded by the thousands to the call for peace. In addition to peace rallies held in Calcutta and Bombay, she said, "the All-India Peace Congress held in the face of terrible repression last month in the heroic city of Calcutta, attended by 3,000 delegates from all parts of the country, gives a clear indication of how our people and women have realized the close connection of the problem of peace with that of national liberation of the Indian people."

Indonesia

LILLAH Suripno of the Indonesian delegation said the first women's organization in Indonesia was formed in 1912, soon after the Indonesian national movement started in 1908. Since then, she said, the struggle for national liberation has become the most important part of the movement, together with the fight against illiteracy.

Indonesian women, she said, fight on the battlefield and work in distribution kitchens to feed guerilla fighters who come down from the hills for news and communication.

"At the last congress held in Djokja in September 1949," she said, "the most important question presented by the progressive women was the fulfillment of an independent, free, democratic Indonesian state which will be ruled by and for Indonesian toiling people."

Labelling Hatta and Soekarno "puppets in the hands of their Dutch and American bosses," Miss Suripno declared: "The Dutch and American warmakers and their Indonesian puppets may make agreements and hold conferences to give Indonesia independence on paper, but the Indonesians will decide for themselves about freedom and real independence and will fight for their fulfillment."

The Netherlands

R. LIPS Odrnot, Dutch fraternal delegate to the conference, spoke of the effect on the people of Holland of the war against Indonesia.

The expense of waging the war, she said, "has gravely cut down the standard of living in our country. The government does not want to give the necessary money for social services, for building houses, for better education and for the struggle against tuberculosis, which infects 1,200 new persons every month. Government food subsidies have been cut off, with the result that food prices have risen enormously, while money is spent feverishly for armaments."

Miss Odrnot said the war against Indonesia costs five million guilders a day and 51 percent of the Netherlands budget "is given over to war aims."

In addition to the economic hardship, she said, the casualties among Dutch soldiers wounded, killed or disabled in Indonesia has brought "great unrest" to the hearts of Dutch women, and "dissatisfaction over the colonial policy of the Dutch government is spreading to ever widening circles of the population."

"The town of Groningen," the Dutch delegate continued, "was the first town in which wives of soldiers who are in Indonesia united and organized a meeting to protest the demand by the authorities for a retroactive tax on soldier's compensation. The women of many towns have taken similar action. They have sent the tax demand letters to their soldier husbands in Indonesia, where the soldiers, indignant and upset, gave them to their officers."

Dutch women, she said, also have taken part in demonstrations held during the departure of troop transport ships, such as that at Ijmuiden where banners were displayed with slogans such as "Houses, not barracks!" "Bring the troops back from Indonesia!" "Peace and Fraternization!"

The "united protest of the Dutch progressive women and workers," she went on, forced the release of Dutch soldiers who were imprisoned because they "made speeches and distributed pamphlets in the barracks explaining the facts about the Indonesian war to their comrades and calling for solidarity with the struggle for freedom for the Indonesian people."

This year, she said, the parents, wives, sisters and daughters of men who have already served more than two years in Indonesia formed an organization which is demanding "immediate demobilizaion of these soldiers when they return to Holland, no redrafting them for Montgomery's 'European Defense Plan' and strong measures for giving them immediate employment."

The Dutch women's movement has not only given "strong support to the demands of this organization" but has also "visited the four big trade unions and asked them to urge the government to send back our soldiers from Indonesia," she said. "We have distributed thousands of manifestos, sent hundreds of telegrams to the government and the Security Council of the UN. Flying demonstrations were held in the workers' quarters, marching with banners and posters on which were pictures of crippled soldiers and selling our peace paper from door to door."

On the initiative of the Dutch women's movement, she said, a national committee has been organized to help soldiers who are in prisons or concentration camps because they have refused to go to Indonesia to fight, and it has been decided to expand this drive to include the "liberation of all Indonesian and Dutch soldiers who are in jail for their political work in fighting against colonial war."

The Dutch delegate concluded: "We want the Indonesians to be really free, like the great brave people of China, whose victory not only stimulates the struggle of the people of the Asiatic countries for freedom, but also the struggle in the western countries against the rule of American reaction."

Vietnam

THE Vietnam delegate, Ho Thi Minh, described the struggle for independence waged by the women of her country.

"The women of all organizations, all walks of life and religious beliefs in Vietnam were organized into a united front," she said, "that is the Union of Vietnam Women with 2,000,000 members. Founded on October 20, 1946, it has branches among Vietnam women living in France, Siam, Burma, New Caledonia and New Hebrides and it has joined the WIDF."

Women are engaged in front line work in the resistance movements, she declared. "The women distinguish themselves in the services of information, liaison, and propaganda work for the army. They penetrate into the occupied zones to distribute leaflets. Owing to this work, Vietnam soldiers in the French Army join the forces of the national army, bringing with them arms and ammunition. . . .

"In the enemy's rear," she continued, "militia women tear up roads, destroy railways, telegraph and telephone lines, causing communication difficulties to the enemy."

Women also help maintain the food supply, she said, both by striving to increase food production yields and by transporting food to the soldiers.

Ho Thi Minh charged that "the imperialists intend to make Vietnam a war bastion in Asia against the new China and the Soviet Union." She declared the women of Vietnam "are opposed" to this and will "fight side by side with the democratic sisters of the world under the banner of the WIDF." She also expressed appreciation to the French mothers who paid for the Vietnamese delegates' trip to Peking.

France

MADAME Jeannette Vermeersch of the French fraternal delegation to the Asian Women's Conference told how the women of France are organizing to oppose the war in Vietnam.

"Up until now," she said, "the imperialist government has not succeeded in sending regular contingents of the French Army. It has sent legionnaires, former Nazis enrolled in the legion, leftover Vichyites and collaborationists who have signed up for

Children In Asia: "Humanity's Shame"

REPORTING to the conference on the condition of children in Asia, Amita Devi, the delegate from India, told of the difference between the lives of children in the colonial countries and in those which have their own governments.

The position of children in the Central Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union, she said, used to be as bad as in any colonial country, but now "you will not find a single village without its own school, kindergarten and nursery." All education is free, she added, and "in all republics child labor has been abolished," while the development of welfare institutions has reduced the death rate of children "to almost nil."

A "happier vista" is now open for Chinese children, Miss Devi said, pointing out that in Northeast China, which has been liberated longest, the number of primary school children has increased by 158 percent over the Kuomintang period.

North Korea expects to have free compulsory education for all children in 1950, while Mongolia has already established such a system, she said. Vietnam, too, has made tremendous strides in three years, and now has more than 2,000 primary schools, 32 secondary schools and five institutes.

By contrast, she said, "in the colonial and dependent countries there are practically no laws to protect the rights of children" and even where legislation has been enacted concerning child labor "according to official government declarations these laws have been observed more in their breach than their observance."

In India, according to a report made by a government labor investigation committee in 1946, she reported, "In the match, textile, carpet and coffee industries, children between the ages of five and 12 are the main labor power. In industries such as jute, leather, coal, mica and cigarettes, where the work is extremely difficult and where even the health of adults is greatly affected, child labor is widely used.

"One can hardly find a single village or any branch of industry where child labor is not exploited," she continued. "Besides working in regulated and unregulated industries and in agriculture, tens of thousands of children are exploited as domestic servants, hotel waiters, sewer cleaners, hawkers, etc."

In Iran, she went on, the lives of children go into the famous Iranian carpets, and in Turkey "children from eight to ten years constitute five percent of the textile workers." In Japan, children constitute nearly a quarter of the industrial workers, and in Ceylon and Malaya, children toil on the tea, rubber and cocoanut plantations.

The exploitation of child labor, Miss Devi said, is matched only by the deplorable health conditions in these countries. "In the whole of India," she said, "with its 400,000,000 population, there are only 600 maternity homes and establishments protecting the health of women and children. These are only accessible to the rich. No state health institutes for children exist in this country."

Because of the lack of maternity leave, she said, there are innumerable cases of women giving birth to children in factories, plantations and fields during work hours," and since there are no creches or kindergartens in India, "working women have to take their children with them where allowed, or leave them behind to the mercy of fate, or even drug them to sleep in the dark hovels which are their homes."

As a result, she said, 25 percent of the children in India die before they are a year old, and in some districts the infant mortality rate is as high as 31 percent. Life expectation in India is the shortest in the world, except for Ceylon, and 50 percent of the population die before the age of 15. In Ceylon, she added, 55 percent of the deaths are those of children under five.

In Indonesia, she went on, there is a death rate of 40 percent among children, and in some places like Jogjakarta it is 80 percent. Indonesia has only one doctor per 100,000 people, while Holland has a doctor for every 1,500 persons.

In Iran, "99 percent of the children of working people suffer from tuberculosis, stomach ulcers, trachoma and other terrible diseases," and the infant mortality rate is from 80 to 90 percent. "Malnutrition and chronic diseases make many of the children from an early age blind, crippled or disfigured, stunted physically as well as mentally," she said.

Miss Devi charged that the lack of education in colonial countries is a "deliberate policy" of the administrators. In India, she said, 88 percent of the population is illiterate and although "50 percent of the budget of the Indian government goes to the maintenance of police and 'defense' measures, only three percent is allotted for education."

In Burma, she went on, "only one-third of school-age children have the opportunity to go to school, while in Malaya, 75 percent of school-age children have no chance to study. In Vietnam, French colonizers have built 20,000 prisons, that is one prison for every 1,000 persons, and only one elementary school for every 20,000 children. In Iran, 90 percent of the people are illiterate. . . . In the whole of Turkey, only 60,000 villages have schools. There are some districts where there is not even a single school for 100 villages."

Miss Devi declared that "it is the shame of us women and mothers, of the whole of humanity, that our children should still live thus in this part of the world. In Asia, we have liberated half of our children from the clutches of imperialism. We must hasten to liberate the other half as soon as possible."

the colonial war in Vietnam. At the same time the government recruits common criminals in the prisons. And a blush of shame covers us when we learn of the unspeakable crimes committed against your people."

Describing the demonstrations for peace, she said: "No demonstration for peace, no meeting of housewives takes place without vigorous protests against the war in Vietnam. In the organized vote for peace of last October 2, more than 7,000,000 men and women voted against the war.

"In the Chamber of Deputies, the Communist group, which includes a number of women, speaks out vigorously to denounce the crimes of colonialism, and votes against all war credits. It has won other deputies to its side.

"The women's organizations, especially the Union of French Women, issues much material—posters, pamphlets, newspapers—denouncing the war in Vietnam and calling for action against it. Many of our women have been prosecuted in court for this action.

"Through the committees of the Union of French Women, demonstrations have taken place throughout France.

"Strikes have begun against the loading of ships leaving for Vietnam. Such strikes have taken place in Dunkerque and Marseilles.

"A demonstration of mothers whose sons were killed in Vietnam or who are still there took place in Paris in front of the Ministry of War. The women were attacked by the police, but this has only enraged them into more determined action against the colonial war.

"In Paris and Toulon, young soldiers are in prison for having refused to leave for Vietnam.

"This struggle is in the tradition of the French working class, which fought against the war in Morocco and the war in Syria. The people of Algeria, Black Africa and Madagascar have always found the French working class at their side."

Madame Vermeersch declared that the war is also "costly to the French people" and charged that America is trying "to reduce the French people to colonial status, with all that means in the way of misery, suffering, unemployment and repression."

"American imperialism tries to colonize our country," she went on, "not only to conquer it economically for the sake of profits, but also, and above all, to make of it a base of aggression in Europe against the country of socialism, the USSR, and the people's democracies."

China

CHINESE delegate Li Wen-yi declared that the women of China have been emancipated because they joined forces with the revolution.

Formerly, she said, "Chinese women were completely deprived of their rights. They starved and were on the verge of death; they worked an average of 13 hours a day, but their wages were only two-thirds that of men. They had no sick leave. Pregnant women were discharged. They lost all opportunities for education.

"The women in the villages fared no better. Almost all of them were illiterate. They were sold out of their families just like commodities and became wives, servants, child brides, concubines or prostitutes."

Now, she declared, "a new life opens before the Chinese women." Women are learning new industrial techniques and a number in the Northeast have become locomotive engineers and tramcar drivers.

Literacy classes and evening schools are eliminating illiteracy among women, she continued. In one textile mill in Dairen, "there is not a single illiterate among the 913 women workers."

Pointing out how the status of women has risen, Miss Li said that women have been elected group leaders and committee members of trade unions and "increasing numbers" are taking part in government work. "Madame Sun Yat-sen was elected vice chairman of the Central People's Government, three women were elected members of the Central People's Government Council, and many more became ministers and vice ministers," she said.

In the cities, she added, women are getting equal pay for equal work and maternity leave, while "the number of nurseries to take care of the children of working mothers is growing." In the country, women share in the land reform and "tens of thousands of women have taken an active part in administrative work. In the Northeast alone, 6,688 village chiefs are women."

"All these rights gained by Chinese women did not come easily," she said. "They are the outcome of long-drawn-out struggles. The most essential experiences gained in these protracted struggles is: the emancipation of women must be closely linked with the revolutionary movement for national independence and people's democracy.

"In the past, there were some women intellectuals in China who set up organizations in a few big cities. They demanded that women must have the right to 'participate in state administration' and so on. They did not identify their object with the

Mrs. Robeson Advocates Cultural Understanding

MRS. Paul Robeson, wife of the famous American singer, said education and the arts should be used to increase friendship and understanding between the people of America and China.

In a talk made during her visit to Shanghai after the conclusion of the Asian Women's Conference, she said:

I thank you for your generous invitation to come here, to your new China.

It is a privilege and an honor to come to liberated Shanghai.

Many of the progressive people in America know that our guns and planes and money have made you win your victory the *hard* way.

I bring you greetings from these progressive Americans, who want you to know that they work and fight with you.

We are working and fighting now for the immediate recognition of your People's Government.

The progressives in America know a little about your new people's art.

Paul Robeson sings your song, "Chi Lai" with pride.

They have asked me to bring back songs and plays and books, so we can know more.

Your People's Cultural Association has been most kind and generous in collecting this material for me. We will try to deserve their generosity by seeing to it that we use this material to increase the friendship between your people and mine.

In the all too short time we have been in New China, we have heard music, seen plays and films and read articles, all of which are "of, for and by the people," and therefore are living, constructive art.

I particularly remember a film, "Daughter of China," which we saw in Peking. It is a gem. If that film can be shown in America, millions of people there could get some concrete idea of why and how your Army of Liberation grew and succeeded, and the magnificent role that women played in its successes.

I think that this is one of the most important things which true art and education must do—inform, explain, persuade, convince. Because some of our best progressive writers, teachers and artists try to do this, they are hounded from their jobs, their books and films are banned by our present government, and our Hollywood Ten and other writers are under sentence to prison.

We Negro artists and writers in America have had a rather special kind of job to do. We have had to inform, explain, persuade and convince our fellow Americans that we are *not* "inferior human beings" because our skin is a different color. Many of our books, plays and paintings have tried to do this.

If we can all use writing, the art and education to *refute* false information, to break down prejudice, and to give our people constructive channels for self-expression, then we shall have made a very great contribution to our people and to the peoples of the world, because we shall have laid the foundation of mutual understanding and respect upon which friendship between peoples and between nations can, and surely will, be built.

When there is mutual understanding, respect and friendship between peoples and nations, there will be peace.

revolution. And all their work got nowhere.

"But later, Chinese women accepted the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. From then on, broad masses of laboring women joined the gigantic struggle against imperialism, feudalism, fighting for national independence and people's democracy. This is a correct direction because women's emancipation can only come with the liberation of the entire people."

Miss Li predicted that "the emancipation of the Chinese women will greatly increase the confidence and courage of women of various oppressed nations of Asia" and she said Chinese women support all such struggles for national independence.

Korea

PAK Ching Ai, president of the Democratic Women's League of North Korea, said the League was formed in November, 1945 and at present has a membership of 1,480,000. In South Korea, she said, the Democratic Women's League has been driven underground.

Contrasting the position of women in the two sections of the country, she said that women in North Korea are active in all fields of public life and the professions. More than 1,000 women hold government posts, she reported, and there are 55 women judges, including two in the Supreme Court.

In addition, she said, women have become technicians and engineers, fields "which could not even be dreamed of before liberation," and are increasing in numbers in educational and public health work.

As a result of the land reform, the country women, "who have received land on an equal footing with men," are playing a more active role in the rural economy, and more than 6,000 "are members of various committees of the peasant league."

However, in South Korea "the patriotic women . . . are dismissed from factories, mines and offices, expelled from schools and arrested, imprisoned and massacred," she declared.

The situations in North and South Korea, she concluded, demonstrate the results, on the one hand, of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is designed to "assist the liberation, independence and democratic development of the oppressed nations," and of the "expansion program of the American imperialists," which is "encroaching upon national independence and freedom of all the peoples of Asia and trampling upon the freedom, rights and happy future of women."

Madagascar

GIESELE Rabesahala, the fraternal delegate from Madagascar, told of the "wretched living conditions, starvation wages, insecurity and lack of sanitary facilities" in her country and the battle for national independence that is being waged.

Of Madagascar's 800,000 school-age children, she said, only 184,000 attend school and "there are few or nearly no secondary schools. . . . students are not taught in their mother tongue although Madagascar has a language both in writing and speech."

Madagascar's national independence movement was started in 1946, she reported, and "three-fourths of the population joined this movement. But the colonial authorities, frightened by the growing popular strength, staged a provocation. On March 29, 1947, a few Europeans were killed in the camp of Moraganga. The MDRM (mouvement democratique de la renovation malgache) was accused at once; its leaders arrested without any reason, were put in prison and tortured. The criminal court of Tananarive passed a death sentence on two delegates and sentenced others to imprisonment ranging from five to 10 years.

"In the subsequent repression, 90,000 people of Madagascar were killed, tortured, shot, executed without trial. At the same time, an emergency law came into force which suppressed completely the freedom of press, assembly and association. This law is in force now.

"At present there are 3,000 people detained in filthy prisons awaiting trial. They have waited for almost three years."

Miss Rabesahala said Madagascar's mica, graphite and uranium "are coveted by the imperialists who are preparing a third world war," but she declared that "the women of Madagascar want peace, because to struggle for peace is to struggle for national independence and for the future of our children."

Burma

DAW Thein Tin, the delegate from Burma, said there are innumerable Burmese women working in small businesses and bazaars, in agriculture, and in handicraft industry, such as the "making of handlooms, pottery, matting and cigar rolling." Since the war, "an increasing number" have been working as office clerks, telephone operators, school teachers and nurses.

"There are no rights and privileges for the toiling women," she declared. "No nursery or kindergarten is established even for the so-called privileged intellectual strata. Measures to protect mothers and children are absolutely absent."

The All-Burma Women's Congress, she said, was formed in 1945 and worked closely with the peasant union in the "no rent, no tax and anti-starvation" campaigns. But on March 28, 1948 the "leading women" were arrested by the Thakin Nu government and "the activists were compelled to escape to the rural areas."

The women of the liberated areas now are being reorganized under the name of the Burmese Women's Union, she said, and they are now supporting "the armed struggles at the front" and the peasants' demand for land reform.

Together with other progressive forces, the women of Burma "are now carrying on a revolutionary war to defeat the long and brutal reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalsm and its agent Thakin Nu and the counter-revolutionaries," she concluded.

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OBTAINABLE AT DEPT. STORES AND PROVISION SHOPS

The Congress Of American Women

Peace and democracy, the status of women, and child care are its concerns as it joins forces with other women throughout the world.

THREE and a half years ago, in November, 1945, there gathered together in Paris a group of women from 41 countries of the world to form a new organization, the Women's International Democratic Federation, to insure that the horrors of war and fascism through which so many of them had recently passed could never recur. Four hundred delegates were there, and among them were 13 women from the United States.

The 13 American women came back from Paris fired with the spirit of their sisters of Europe, Africa and Asia and at a meeting held on March 8, 1946 they, together with other women to whom they brought the message of Paris, organized the Congress of American Women.

National Officers

The present national officers of the CAW are: Dr. Gene Weltfish, honorary president; Muriel Draper, president; Pearl Law, executive vice-president; Stella B. Allen, executive secretary; Harriet Black, treasurer; Marie Kovarco, recording secretary; Betty Millard, secretary to WIDF.

The work of CAW has been within the framework of the three Commissions laid down at the founding convention of the Federation: the Peace and Democracy, Status of Women, and Child Care Commissions. In these terms was launched a new stage in the age-old struggle for the emancipation of women.

Heretofore, women have attacked the problem from only one of a number of possible standpoints: the right to schooling, the promotion of cultural knowledge, the right to the franchise, health and welfare, the consumer angle—depending upon which they thought to have the greater priority. But CAW has begun to face the problem in its total complexity and has been developing lines of action simultaneously and on all fronts.

Political Participation

Of the three commissions, many have chosen the most active the Peace and Democracy Commission, in which the political scene is evaluated and political action taken, and this has been consistently true until the present day. This is in direct contradistinction to other women's organizations since the day of the suffrage fight—which have worked on the assumption that political activity was uncongenial to women. By this token our membership has sensed the fundamental fact that until there is full political participation, women will be lacking in the power to achieve their own emancipation.

Of the other two commissions, the Status of Women, covering both their legal and economic status, and the Child Care Commission, there has been a demand for somewhat different kinds of activity. In these fields it would appear that on a national level the preparation of information bulletins and the calling of joint conferences with other organizations working in the field have up to now been the most fruitful type of action. However, various Chapters have functioned far more actively, even militantly, in these same areas of our work.

To further detail the various aspects of our work, the following have been some of our accomplishments. We have taken actions against the ever-increasing civil rights attacks, against rising prices, wretched housing conditions for many, unemployment and attacks on labor, and the organically connected questions of increasing militarization. We have been particularly concerned with our foreign policy, designed to bring about economic and social domination in all parts of the world through a combination of military and commercial actions. We have organized delegations to Washington on housing, high prices, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the state of Israel, civil rights, the Mundt Bill, the case of Rosa Lee Ingram, and universal military training.

In anticipation of the holding of the Asian Women's Conference in Peking, the Review requested the Congress of American Women for the article describing its activities which appears on this page. Like many other progressive organizations in the United States today, the Congress of American Women is meeting heavy opposition from the forces of reaction. Last month, the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities released a 114-page report on the Congress, charging it with being a subversive organization. The Congress replied that the Committee had issued its report "without advising it (the Congress) that it was under investigation, without asking a single question" and "with the obvious intention of preventing women from participating in campaigns for peace such as those initiated by the CAW."

"The Congress of American women is an organization of women whose openly avowed goal since its inception has been the furtherance of world peace and the betterment of the conditions of life for themselves and their children," the Congress said. "These common aims we share with women all over the world through the Women's International Democratic Federation. The validity of these aims is beyond question, except by those who would characterize the struggle for world peace as subversive."

Fight For Peace

CAW has been continuously active, since its inception, in the fight for peace. Two years ago a peace petition was presented by a delegation from the Chicago Chapter to Trygve Lie at the United Nations. Last year we conducted a national peace poll. Recently we concluded the collection of approximately 100,000 signatures in a peace petition campaign which tops all our previous efforts and has aroused great enthusiasm among our members and has reached wide groups of women outside our organization.

At the United Nations, where the WIDF has Consultative Status "B" to the Economic and Social Council and we have the privilege of circulating briefs among the members of the Council and its commissions, which we have done on a number of occasions, as well as the right to be heard on the floor at the discretion of the Chairman of the Commission, important work can be carried on. We also participate with other non-governmental organizations and thus can make our work known to them.

We have maintained, throughout our brief history, our original and fundamental emphasis on the unity of women throughout the world—united with ever-increasing strength in their common interests. We are conscious always of the world-wide scope of our struggle—and of our Spanish sisters, of our Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese Cuban, Mexican and African sisters. Of all these, we are always thinking with close bonds of affection and concern, and with deep gratitude we regard our European sisters in France, Italy, USSR, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, who suffered so deeply the terrible consequences of Nazi aggression and are so gallantly building and advancing their countries.

And the masses of women in China, newly joined in the All-China Women's Congress, with a membership of 22,500,000. Through their struggle a new day has dawned for all women.

We are as yet numerically weak, but our influence is beginning to make itself felt far beyond our numbers. The CAW pursues the course of progress and peace. As it becomes clear to the American people, particularly American women, how urgent it is for them to conduct an independent fight in their own interest, our organization will come to the fore as the vehicle through which women, as a growing and determining force, can make known their will for a better life for themselves and their families and for a world at peace.

United States of Indonesia

Bankrupt Republican leaders capitulate to Dutch after the military and political elimination of resistance to Dutch-US plans. Guerilla action, however, continues.

ON the ratification at the Hague of the constitution of the Federation of the United States of Indonesia, Dr. Hatta, Premier of the Republic of Indonesia, said that it was fitting to look forward rather than to look backward at this hour.

The famous *Voice of America* added an announcement of its satisfaction at the "gratifying news," commenting that the new United States of Indonesia "offered the world a bright prospect for practical cooperation between East and West."

Acheson's Approval

Speaking for the American State Department, Dean Acheson said that there was nothing quite like this method of realizing national independence, that the American government was studying ways and means to extend aid to the new Union—if it is requested, and that the courageous action of the Indonesian Republican government against the "Communist coup" of 1948 proved its genuine nationalism. He further approved the "voluntary agreement" into which the Netherlands and the Indonesian Union have entered "for certain purposes."

While the advice of Premier Hatta is no doubt sincere and wise, the words of Dean Acheson, that "there has been nothing quite like this method of realizing national independence," incline one to turn for a moment to the past, if it be no more than to see whether the Secretary of State's analysis of the situation can match his notable report on China.

In a letter addressed to the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* early this year, a Dutch citizen summed up a certain attitude to Indonesian independence characteristic of old-fashioned Dutch thinking. This citizen correspondent, the Baroness Aleida S. S. van Harinxma Thoe Slooten, wrote: "But one fact remains: up to the present, Indonesia is Dutch, just as much as Malaya is British or the Congo Belgian, and full responsibility rests on the Dutch, and the Dutch alone, for solving the Indonesian problem and safeguarding the lives and property of its inhabitants . . . "

Should the reader become momentarily alarmed at this apparent outburst of colonialism, we hasten to quote the editorial in the same issue of the *Christian Science Monitor* which puts the matter in its proper light. This editorial points out that: "Since the start of this century the ethical rule of the Dutch administrators in Indonesia has prepared that politically backward land for self-rule."

There is the answer to the talk of colonialism, to the whole problem. It is evident that both the Baroness Aleida and the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* foresaw the recent historic events at the Hague. They would not be in the least surprised that the Dutch delegates to the conference put the seal of their approval on the new Union, the proud result of Dutch "ethical rule" and selfless labor in that backward land.

So perhaps we may turn back to the past and fill out, especially for those who misunderstand colonialism, the history of the Indonesian archipelago and the unique method of realizing independence that has taken place there.

Indonesia is not just a geographical concept, nor is it a new state born of the twentieth century. It has a considerable history. It even experienced long ago what Indonesian writers term a Golden Age—during the mighty Sriwidjaja Empire (4th to 10th century A.D.) and the Madjapahit Empire (12th to 16th centuries). Indonesia was once a wealthy and independent nation.

Then came the friends from over the sea, the clean, civilized, orderly and most businesslike Dutch—for this is how they appraised themselves.

The Indonesian View

The Indonesians are no doubt biased in recording history, but it is still interesting to note Dr. A. K. Gani's (Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia in 1947) opinion on the history of Dutch dominion: "Slowly but steadily during the 350 years of Dutch rule, the Indonesians, from a prosperous, independent and self-supporting people, became a pauperized people. The Dutch had tried and succeeded in breaking the Indonesians, militarily, politically and economically."

Probably Dr. Gani's bitterness stems from such trifles as the fact that over 90 percent of Indonesians were illiterate after 350 years of Dutch ethical rule, from the various massacres of the natives who resisted civilization, and from reports such as that issued by the prewar Dutch administration saying that 2½ guilders (95 cents US) per capita was enough for the daily cost of living of the average Indonesian. He may also have drawn unwarranted conclusions from the fact that Holland acquired 15 percent of its national income from selling Indonesian products to the United States of America. And he may have read reports such as that of *The Far Eastern Review*, Hongkong, September 1947, which included an opinion that, were the Dutch monopoly of the export-import trade of Indonesia and of shipping lines to be broken, the standard of living in Holland would drop 30 to 35 percent.

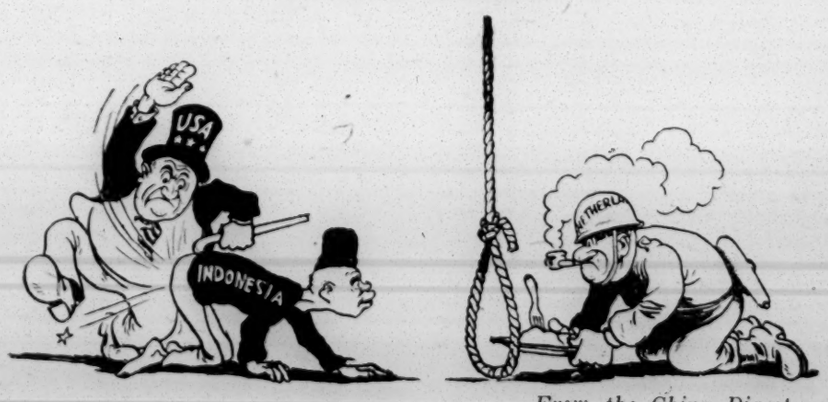
Dr. Gani was perhaps unable to comprehend the "ethical" side of Dutch administration and misunderstood the situation in the twentieth century which writers such as Raymond Kennedy, in the *Far Eastern Survey*, April, 1946 clearly explain. To quote Mr. Kennedy:

"The censorship laws of the Indies have been almost unbelievable in their repressiveness, and the restrictions on free assembly and free speech have been almost as bad. Any person or group advocating independence, for example, has been liable to prosecution for sedition, and with the passage of time there was no softening of the rules. Just before the great debacle in 1940, a government spokesman in the Volksraad declared officially that anyone who raised the issue of independence would be subject to legal punishment. Use of the word 'Indonesia' was forbidden, as was singing of the 'revolutionary' anthem, *Indonesia Raya*. Persons who violated the laws against seditious activities were either imprisoned or banished to remote parts of the Indies. The notorious prison camp on the Upper Digoel River in New Guinea held hundreds of political exiles at the outbreak of the war."

It is the "ethics" of the situation that is so often misunderstood. Secretary Acheson is obviously correct when he comments that nothing like this method of realizing independence has been seen before.

Before the second world war, the Dutch saw to it that nothing should disturb the harmony of the Indies and that the world should benefit from their exploitation of the vast riches

A CHINESE VIEW



From the China Digest

of the Indonesian archipelago, the oil, the tin, the rubber. Standard Oil Company and Royal Dutch Shell made a profitable agreement to sell crude oil from Indonesia to the Japanese as late as 1941. The 74,000,000 Indonesians had businesslike rulers.

The swift lunge of the Japanese militarists into South East Asia in 1942 upset the applecart. After 350 years of almost unbroken rule, the Dutch were swept aside. We mention that the Dutch rule was not *entirely* unbroken because it is interesting to recall that during the Napoleonic Wars, the British took over from the Dutch as caretakers of the archipelago during a period when the French overran Holland.

National Independence

During the Japanese occupation, and in opposition to this occupation, the movement for Indonesian national independence grew in strength, led actively by Amir Sjarifoeddan, whose name we shall encounter again later. It is said that Soekarno and Hatta worked for Indonesian independence by accepting positions in the Japanese-sponsored administration. Sjahrir withdrew ostensibly from politics while in fact furnishing inspiration to youth groups from the vantage point of his pineapple farm!

But, whether it was on advice from the pineapple farm or not, after the surrender of Japan, a broadly based group of Indonesian leaders proclaimed an independent Republic of Indonesia in September 1945 and began effectively to govern the country. Apparently the Indonesian people had forgotten the ethical beauties of Dutch rule.

Then the caretakers of old arrived upon the scene. It was in the same month, September 1945, that a small British force landed on Java.

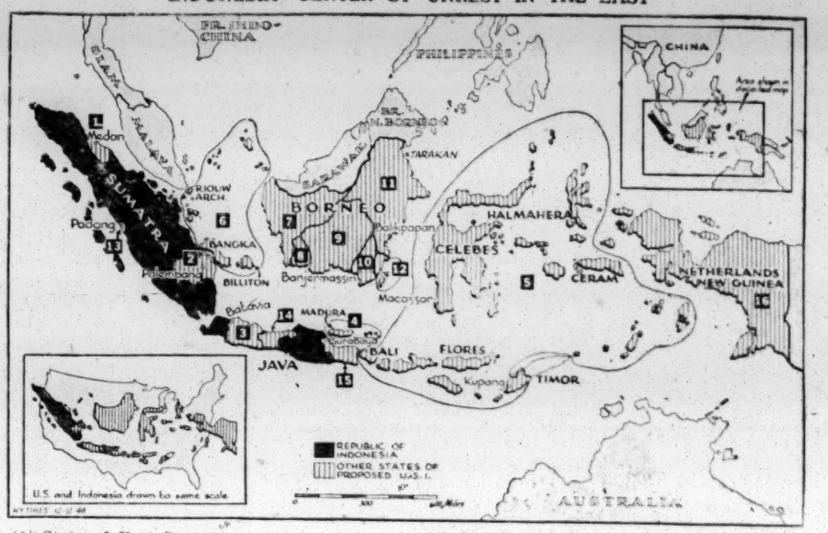
The British were weak militarily and the Republic was firmly established in Java and over a large part of Sumatra. The Republic agreed to cooperate in the disarming of Japanese troops and the release of allied prisoners of war but warned the British that if "the maintenance of law and order until a lawful government was re-established" meant the return of the Dutch, then this would be resisted.

Such talk from a backward people, who had had the temerity to set up their own government without consultation with their betters, did not suit the caretakers from Britain at all. During October a full British division landed and simultaneously some Dutch troops and officials, including Governor van Mook, entered Java.

The Republic's leaders allowed the British to occupy Batavia and Java's other three big cities, Bandoeng, Semerang and Soerabaja. The Republic's capital was withdrawn to Jogjakarta. But the majority of Republicans were not happy about this retreat and resistance began. As British and Dutch forces advanced, skirmishes increased. By the middle of November large scale fighting had broken out.

The British and the Dutch found it increasingly difficult to cope with the backward and illiterate Indonesian

INDONESIA—CENTER OF UNREST IN THE EAST



(1) State of East Sumatra
(2) State of South Sumatra
(3) State of Pasundan (West Java)
(4) State of Madura
(5) State of East Indonesia
(6) Federation Bangka-Biliton-Riouw
(7) Autonomous Area of West Borneo
(8) Kotawaringin (Status Undecided)
(9) Autonomous Area of Great Dayak
(10) Autonomous Area of Bandjar
(11) Autonomous Area of East Borneo
(12) Autonomous Area of S. E. Borneo
(13) Dutch-Controlled City of Padang
(14) Dutch-Controlled Area of Middle Java
(15) Dutch-Controlled State of East Java
(16) Neth. New Guinea (Status Undecided)

This map, from the *New York Times*, shows how far the Dutch had proceeded in their plan for dismembering and keeping control of Indonesia by December of 1948 when, following "police action" which liquidated the republic, they reopened "negotiations" with Soekarno and Hatta.

The Dutch proposed United States of Indonesia included the Republic of Indonesia (1) and the less populous states and areas, (2-16), each component having equal political status. The Dutch suggested that after the U. S. I. is formed, it join a projected Netherlands Indonesian Union in which the U. S. I. and metropolitan Holland would be equal partners under the Dutch crown.

forces and so they reorganized the Japanese troops, which they were disarming, and turned them against the Republic.

This use of Japanese troops against the Indonesians caused something of a stir abroad and questions were asked in the United Nations by the Soviet Union and the Urkaine. However it was not to be expected that these states should have been able to understand western ethical methods.

More inclined to compromise on the issue was Republican Premier Sjahrir who was induced by the British Commander, General Christison, to begin talks with the Dutch in November—while the Dutch continued to bring in troops. During November and December there was savage fighting in Java.

The Dutch Maneuver

At this time the Republic's forces were still strong. Taking the advice of the British and of the United States (which made its first official pronouncement on the matter on December 19), the Dutch agreed to negotiate with the Republic, and so talks with Sjahrir continued.

In February, 1946, the Dutch announced a plan for an interim government until Indonesia "might enjoy self-determination." This called for an assembly with an Indonesian majority representation and a representative of the Dutch crown possessing extensive power to guarantee "fundamental rights, efficient administration, and sound financial management." As businesslike as ever, the Dutch put commerce above the vague demands for *Merdeka*, freedom.

On June 17, 1946, the Republic presented counter proposals that were so unacceptable to the Dutch that they broke off negotiations. Instead they brought in more troops and proceeded with their tactic of setting up new "states" or territories under direct Dutch tutelage in the outlying parts of the Archipelago. A preliminary conference was convened at Malino, in Celebes, in July, with representatives from the outer islands (Borneo, Celebes, Lesser Sundas, and Moluccas) present. The Malino conference favored a United States of Indonesia in which Dutch organized states would effectively counterbalance the Republic. It was at this conference that the magic "prospect for practical cooperation between East and West" first crystallized. Throughout Java and Sumatra spasmodic fighting continued.

In October, 1946, the British finally withdrew after allowing the Dutch to bring their forces up to an equivalent level, 100,000 men. And the British also succeeded in persuading the Dutch and Indonesian leaders to meet at Linggadjati in November in the presence of British Lord Killearn. At Linggadjati a much-trumpeted agreement was drawn up under which the Dutch were to recognize the Republic as the de facto government of Java and Sumatra, while the Republican leaders conceded a future United States of Indonesia as part of a Netherlands Union headed by the Netherland's sovereign.

The Republic at this time had the undisputed support of the approximately 62,000,000 people of Java and Sumatra as well as the allegiance of a considerable proportion of the remaining 12,000,000 Indonesians on

the other islands of the Archipelago. Soekarno was President, Hatta was Vice-President, and Sjahrir Premier.

But, to warn the Indonesians that all power was by no means theirs, in January 1947 the Dutch placed a tight military and economic blockade on all Indonesia ports. Under this blockade an American ship, the *Martin Berhmen*, was seized and impounded in spite of United States protests. On March 17 the Dutch broke through the Republican lines and seized the city of Modjokerta in eastern Java. On March 27 the Dutch issued an ultimatum to the Republic that it must come into an interim federal government headed by a representative of the Netherlands crown until the United States of Indonesia was formed.

Against Capitulation

The Republican Government at first rejected this proposal. Since May there had been growing opposition to the unique "method of realizing independence" embodied in the Linggadjati agreement, and a conference of Indonesian Sajap Kiri (Popular Front) groups met in May in Jogjakarta organizing a "plenary council" which gave equal representation to Labor, Socialist and Communist Parties, and lesser representation to supporting organizations.

Premier Sjahrir was still trying to affect a compromise with the Dutch, and certain groups within the government were willing to support him. And there were other influences at work. As one American writer described it: "Probably as important a factor as the influence of Sjahrir in mollifying the Republican stand had been an *aide-memoire* received by the Republic from the United States Government, urging cooperation without delay in the formation of an interim federal government in accordance with the terms of the Netherlands' proposal, including acceptance of Netherlands sovereignty and 'ultimate authority' in Indonesia; and further stating that the United States was prepared to consider granting financial aid to such an interim government upon its establishment."

Then and now, the State Department has been interested in helping and advising the "genuinely nationalistic" and "genuinely democratic" elements in Indonesia.

Still, the ordinary backward people of Indonesia and "ungenuine democrats" amongst their leadership were not prepared to take the State Department's advice in 1947. Under strong Popular Front pressure, the Sjahrir cabinet gave way on July 3 to a cabinet headed by the resistance leader, Sjarifoeddin—the only cabinet in the Republic's history to have broad, democratic representation as far left as the Communist Party. It seemed as though there might be an end to capitulation.

Dutch Renew Attacks

This "unethical" development was quite unacceptable to the Dutch. The Dutch armies attacked on all fronts in Java and Sumatra on July 21, employing armored and mechanized divisions, and coordinating land, air and amphibious operations. Within two weeks they occupied all the main points in western, eastern and a large part of central Java. They seized most of the oil and valuable plantation districts and all the principal seaports in Sumatra, reducing Republican control to interior mountain lands on that island.

There was something of a furor again in the United Nations over this "limited police action," as the Dutch so delicately termed it. India and Australia were angered, seeing the possibility of their commercial competition with the Netherlands in the Far East shattered. The Soviet Union went so far as to suggest that the Dutch withdraw to the position they held before the "police action." The Dutch delegate emphatically rejected this proposal in the United Nations and was supported by the American spokesman who, referring to the "so-called" Republic, claimed that chaos would spread in the Dutch vacated territories. Compromising, the Security Council ordered both parties, the Indonesians and the Dutch, to cease hostilities. The "cease fire" order went into nominal effect on August 4.

The Dutch did not take much notice of the order and continued "mopping up" Republican troops caught behind the spearheads of the July advance.

America Enters Scene

Thereupon, the United States, expressing regret and dismay at the situation, proceeded to offer its good offices to the Dutch and the Republic. The bargaining that went on behind the scenes is rather obscure, but finally on December 8 the Committee of Good Offices of the Security Council opened formal sessions with Dutch and Republican delegates on the foredeck of the American transport *Renville*, at anchor in Batavia harbor. A truce was signed. Within the Republic, debate over what came to be known as the Renville agreement led to political divisions. Sjarifoeddin's cabinet resigned and Vice-President Hatta finally formed a cabinet which excluded Sjarifoeddin and all elements of the Sajap Kiri, the popular front.

There were numerous popular demonstrations and, in March, a new People's Democratic Front, comprising the Communist, Socialist, and Peasant Parties, and the important Socialist Youth group, was formed under Sjarifoeddin's leadership.

On January 17, 1948, the text of the Renville agreement was forwarded to the Security Council, after a month of negotiations.

Independent of all agreements, the Dutch were manoeuvering for position with considerable skill and speed. To indicate the process of events, we quote from "Indonesia in Crisis," a report published by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, on December 15, 1948:

"While the meetings (the Renville negotiations—ed.) were still in progress, the Dutch convened a 'Preliminary Federative Council' of representatives from the parts of Indonesia under Dutch control, for the purpose of establishing an 'Interim Federal Government' and drafting a federal constitution for the United States of Indonesia. The most alarming feature of the projected scheme, from the Republic's point of view, was the listing of East Sumatra, East Java (with Madoera), and West Java as non-republican areas.

Dutch Puppet States

"This revealed clearly the existence of a Dutch plan of encirclement of the Republic with what the latter regard as 'puppet states,' at least three of which would be formed by the amputation of territory from the Republic itself. The Dutch had already set up the 'state' of East Indonesia, five 'autonomous territories' in Borneo, and the 'autonomous territory' of Bangka-Billiton-Riouw, tin-producing islands off Sumatra.

"The Republic's fears were soon realized when the Dutch announced the establishment of a new 'autonomous territory' of East Sumatra, the richest plantation district, on January 29, 1948, and a month later, the formation of two 'states,' Pasoendan in West Java and Madoera in the island of the same name just off the coast of East Java.

"Regardless of 'agreements' or UN 'orders,' the Dutch seemed determined to make and carry out their own plans in the Indies, and it was now evident that these were aimed directly at the goal of reducing the Republic to the status of a relatively small unit in a complex of Indonesian territories. As a means to this end, the Dutch had by military force whittled down the Republic to a fraction of its original area, and had surrounded this fragment by a tight blockade which was slowly strangling its economy. The last step, that of political encirclement, was now being taken."

The writers of this report were in slight error in that they considered that the Dutch were planning only further political moves. But they give a clear outline of the organization of the puppet "states" and "territories" which—if we may leap ahead a little—now outweigh what is left of the Republic in the newly created Federation of the United States of Indonesia.

We would be omitting some most relevant details if we now carried this sketchy history forward to 1949—although it becomes increasingly obvious just how unique the "method of realizing independence" has been. One can only remark again the singleminded and businesslike style of Dutch diplomacy. The ethics of their methods are perhaps, by this time, best ignored.

Economic Squeeze

The relevant details that we should not omit are also concerned with business. The Renville truce agreement was in force, supervized by the Committee of Good Offices of the Security Council. The Renville Agreement outlined a future equal partnership between a United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands. During 1948, negotiations continued between the Hatta Republican government and the Dutch on the terms of

the agreement, while the Dutch pursued their independent plans. The internal conditions of the Republic steadily deteriorated. The Dutch military seizure of valuable territory and their almost complete economic blockade had a considerable effect on the shrunken, isolated Republic.

Rice prices climbed to impossible levels. Textiles, of which Java had been a large-scale importer, were practically unobtainable. Correspondents noted that, in Jogjakarta, the Republican capital, persons clad in the shreds of rags no longer attracted attention. Hospitals were forced to improvise bandages out of banana leaves. The anti-illiteracy campaign was seriously retarded. Students contributed their own time toward making typewritten copies of available books.

The Hatta government continued to attempt to bargain with the Dutch and, in an attempt to meet the internal crisis, introduced a "rationalization" program envisaging the dismissal of railway, oil field and refinery workers, and the demobilization of a large part of the Republic's army, which was popularly interpreted as a further concession to the Dutch.

US Funds Plus Guns

A further blow was struck at the Republic when the United States Government disclosed in 1948 the allocation of funds under the Marshall Plan, granting $422,000,000 to the Netherlands and $84,000,000 to the Netherlands East Indies, the latter meaning the Dutch-controlled sections of Indonesia. Contrary to an August 1947 International Bank loan to the Netherlands, the new American grant had no restrictions as to use in the Indies. On October 15, the Dutch announced that $70,000,000 in credits had already been received from the United States for reconstruction of the "federal territories" of Indonesia.

During 1948, the popular front forces in Indonesia became increasingly aware of the betrayal within and without. The People's Democratic Front increased in strength and influence. By the beginning of September, the Socialist Party, under the leadership of Sjarifoeddin, the Labor Party headed by Setiadjit, and the Communist Party, were all united together in the Communist Party.

Information is still lacking on the circumstances that led up to, and the events which precipitated what is called the September "Communist coup." Some observers consider that the insurgent action was begun on the initiative of the pro-Communist Fourth Army of the Republic and sections of the Socialist Youth forces, and that action by the Communist Party as a whole followed. However this may be, on September 18, the city of Mandioen was captured by pro-Communist forces. Broadcasting from Mandioen on September 20, the military commander said: "The Mandioen affair is not a coup; it is not an attempt to overthrow the Republic. The Mandioen affair is only a corrective to the policy of those elements which wish to turn the revolution into another direction . . . The Mandioen affair is not an attempt to overthrow the Republic, but it is an attempt to eliminate colonial and feudal elements."

Statements were issued attacking the government—especially Soekarno and Hatta—as tools of American imperialism, which was accused of supporting the actions of Dutch imperialism.

The affair did not win mass support. By September 30, government troops had moved in, retaken most of the areas briefly held by the insurgents, captured a considerable number of Communists and sympathizers, and "restored order."

According to George McT. Kahin, writing in the *Far Eastern Survey*, November 17, 1948: "In most instances, however, the Communists were able to withdraw from the towns before government troops could surround them. With few exceptions, the policy of the Communists has been to avoid battle and retreat to mountainous areas suitable for guerilla warfare. They have now two chief bases of this kind . . . "

But the government had temporarily driven out the organized Republican elements who were opposed to collaboration with the Dutch.

The ground having been cleared, the Dutch, quick to seize a good business opportunity, once again mobilized a military assault, and, on December 19, 1948, the attack began. Parachutists landed around Jogjakarta before dawn on the morning of the 19th, and later 46 Dakota transports brought in about one thousand Dutch commandos. Objectives within the city were hit by Mitchell bombers and attacked by the rocket, cannon and machine-gun fire of P-51s, P-40s and Spitfires.

By the middle of January 1949, all the principal cities of Java were in Dutch hands. Soekarno, Hatta and Sjahrir were held prisoners by the Dutch.

A note should be added that on December 20, Colonel Subroto, Republican Military Governor of Surakarta, upon evacuating that city, took with him 11 important Communist Party leaders which the Hatta government had jailed there. The following day, at a small town nearby, Colonel Subroto had the eleven men shot. Among them was Amir Sjarfoeddin!

The Dutch did some killing too. George McT. Kahin reported from Jogjakarta that, on December 19, a Dutch major lined up nine civilians and shot and killed them with his own pistol. Among them was Dr. Santoso, Secretary General of the Department of Education. Shot in their own homes were Masdoelhak Nasutian, adviser to Hatta; Dr. Hendromortono, a former cabinet minister; and Sumarsono, a high official of the Ministry of the Interior. Those individuals who were known to have opposed complete capitulation to the Dutch, were singled out and executed.

Hatta and Soekarno remained.

Clean Up In 1949

There are no particularly outstanding events of the first half of 1949 that are worth adding to this gruesome record. A typical *United Press* dispatch from Batavia, in March, said that since the December attack, newspapers had been banned, editors arrested, magazines burned, type smashed and office equipment confiscated. One newspaper, *Berita Indonesia*, was suspended for suggestive headlines. Another pro-Republican paper, *Pedoman*, was banned for displaying foreign news agency dispatches on page one. The Dutch authorities at one stage even refused to renew the visa of *Chicago Tribune* correspondent Quentin Pope.

A truce of a sort, the Rum-van Royen agreement, was signed on May

AN AMERICAN VIEW

"YOU WOULDN'T THINK IT WAS THE SAME GAL"

From the Dallas (Texas) Morning News

In Indonesia it was seen as a serious defeat for the Republican cause engineered by strong American pressure on the Hatta government. To quote George McT. Kahin, writing in the *Far Eastern Survey*, August 10, 1949: "Most educated Indonesians strongly oppose the agreement and criticize their leaders for having accepted it. Many of them maintain that the terms of the agreement call for a surrender of Indonesian interests which, when coupled with past concessions made by the same leaders under UN and particularly American pressure, adds up to such a total capitulation to the Dutch as to discredit completely the present pro-American, anti-Communist leaders of the Republic."

But for all their alleged backwardness the Indonesians loyal to the ideas of *Merdeka* and independence cannot be misled forever.

We know the recent sequence of events culminating in the Hague roundtable conference where, after some paltry bargaining, the Hatta-Soekarno group finally accepted the plan of the Dutch for a United States of Indonesia, 16 states with the emasculated Republic in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union—basically the original plan outlined and put into operation by the Dutch at the Malino conference in Celebes, in July 1946, except that now it is enforced by American policy as well as that of the Netherlands.

Guerillas Still Active

During the year there have been many reports of clashes between Dutch patrols and Indonesian guerilla bands, some numbering around 2,000 men or more. The Dutch and the Hatta government have collaborated in suppressing the insurgents. A press agency report from the Hague on October 18 said: "Netherlands Prime Minister Willem Drees, who is also chairman of the roundtable conference on Indonesia, today discussed the military situation with Indonesian Republican Premier Mohammed Hatta . . . The Indonesian President, Dr. Soekarno, has informed the Republican delegation here that he will do all he can to solve the military difficulties in East Java—the main trouble spot."

Batavia, October 8: "Both Dutch and Republicans plan joint action, if necessary, against disturbing elements in East Java, said a communique issued today by the United Nations Commission in Indonesia, quoting information it had received from Soerabaya."

The Hague, October 23: The Sultan of Jogjakarta, Minister of Defence in the Hatta government, "asked that Dutch troops be concentrated in the main cities and highways, leaving the Republican Army in control of other areas."

Batavia, October 24: "A Dutch official spokesman, Dr. P. J. Koets, disclosed today that the Dutch Government was paying the Indonesian Republican Army 600,000 guilders a day, with effect from October 1, to enable the army to stop living off the land and as a contribution toward the stability of Java and Sumatra."

To complete their stranglehold and permanently throttle Indonesia, the Dutch have charged the Indonesians with a debt that includes payment for the two Dutch "police actions." The Indonesians are going to pay for the unique "method of realizing independence." At first the Indonesian delegates at the Hague refused to accept an estimated internal and external debt at anything above 2,600,000,000 guilders. They said that the Dutch figure would be crippling to the productive capacity of the new state and "quite unacceptable."

Nevertheless, the Indonesian delegates at the Hague finally agreed to assume a debt of 4,300,000,000 guilders. The creation of the Federation of the United States of Indonesia has been one of the most brilliant business deals in Dutch history.

Is it surprising that Dean Acheson sent a message to Willem Drees with hearty congratulations on "the fine act of statesmanship symbolized in the announcement of the successful conclusion of the roundtable conference?"

Mr. Acheson, of course, had other reasons. From the Hague on November 4 came the news that "talks on the resumption of Marshall Plan aid to Indonesia are being held in Paris by Dutch Foreign Minister Dr. Stikker, according to Dr. Mohammed Hatta, leader of the Republican delegation to the roundtable conference here.

"When Dr. Hatta was asked if the Dutch and Indonesians had made any plans for a joint request for resumption to the Marshall Plan administration, now that agreement had been reached here on Indonesia's future, he replied: 'No, we have not. These things are now in the hands of Dr. Stikker.'"

Perhaps it is generally assumed that affairs are now generally in the hands of Dr. Stikker. Mr. Acheson's comments on Indonesia may seem more confident than his report on China. Yet it is still a question whether the common people of Indonesia, in their tens of millions, can be left forever out of the account.

Last Shots Not Fired

It is interesting to note the occasional scraps of news that come through. Rotterdam, October 28: "Twenty-one Dutch conscripted Dutch servicemen refused to go aboard the Indonesian-bound troopship Zuiderkruis this afternoon. They are to be court-martialled.

"The Zuiderkruis left for Batavia with over 1,000 relief troops aboard. They included 161 conscripts who had deserted from the military camp at Schoonhoven when they heard they were destined for service in Indonesia."

From Semerang, on October 23: "A total of 135 estate guards have deserted from several estates in East Java from October 16 to October 21, *Aneta*, the Dutch news agency, reported. All of them took away their weapons and their wives and children . . . Some of them fired at their commanders before leaving."

The last shots have not yet been fired in Indonesia.

— W. V. DONNINGER

Late Notes From Jogjakarta

KUOMINTANG and Papal representatives and military observers of the United Nations Commission to Indonesia were among the distinguished audience on Saturday when Dr. Soekarno was formally installed as first President of the United States of Indonesia at a ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Palace of the Sultan of Jogjakarta. (Jogjakarta Dec. 18).

Lieut.-General George E. Stratemeyer, commander of the American Air Force in the Far East, and Major-General Charles E. Willoughby, head of the American Intelligence service in Japan, arrived in Batavia by air from Singapore on Thursday morning. (Dec. 16).

In Batavia, largest city of Indonesia, acute housing shortage, currency chaos and the steadily rising prices of food and clothing continue to outweigh politics as the prime topic of conversation. (Dec. 16).

The need for American economic aid, with its first grant of 40,000,000 dollars and an implied promise of another 90,000,000 from the Import-Export Bank, is a cogent reason for the President to curb the extremists who were formerly prominent in the military forces of the Republic and who still wait restlessly in the wings. (Dec. 16).

According to The Hague agreement, general elections should be held within a year of proclamation of sovereignty. Until they have been held, the practical power of Republic politicians derives directly from their own personalities and powers of leadership and indirectly from a shadowy body called "The People's Congress," the full composition of which is probably known only to President Soekarno and the Prime Minister, Dr. Hatta. (Dec. 16).

The Republican Government (now the Government of Serikat—ed.) will do everything possible to help and safeguard foreign enterprises in Indonesia, according to Dr. Sjafruddin Praweianegara, Republican Vice-Premier for Sumatra, *Aneta* the Dutch news agency reported today. (Dec. 3).

Dr. D. U. Stikker, Dutch Foreign Minister, has again stressed the necessity for cooperation in Indonesia in the future, according to *Aneta*, the Dutch news agency.

Returning to the Netherlands this morning after a four-day visit, the Dutch Foreign Minister said that all men of goodwill who wished to give a hand in the building up of Indonesia would be welcome.

He named especially planters, businessmen, police, the Royal Indonesian Army and government officials. (Dec. 3).

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Fall of Chengtu; New Indonesian Union; While Rome Simmers

VANGUARDS of the People's Liberation Army entered Chengtu, last Kuomintang stronghold on the mainland of China, shortly before 8:00 p.m. on December 26, according to press reports reaching here from Hongkong.

The main forces under General Liu Po-cheng were scheduled to march into the city two days later and simultaneously take over the Szechuan provisional government.

Reports indicate that there was no fighting within the city itself. The last Nationalist troops pulled out hurriedly as the PLA penetrated the south gate.

The main objective of the PLA in the Chengtu area was not the capture of the city but the encirclement of Hu Chung-nan's troops, the only only sizeable Nationalist army left on the mainland. Several days before the capture of Chengtu, the PLA took Sintang, 25 miles southwest, and thus cut the escape route to the province of Sikang.

On December 21, twelve high Kuomintang officers in the area led their troops to announce severance of all relations with the Kuomintang in Kintang and Kwanghan areas, northeast of Chengtu. The officers included Tung Tsung-heng, Deputy Chief of the Kuomintang Szechuen-Hupeh Pacification Headquarters and several army and divisional commanders.

Hongkong reports on December 27 indicated that General Hu Chung-nan has arrived at Hainan Island.

Hainan and Taiwan

IT is not known whether Hu Chung-nan will take part in the defence of Hainan, which is expected to be the next major objective of the PLA.

Although the island is believed to have a defence force estimated at over 250,000 men—the majority of them remnants of forces shattered on the mainland—observers are of the opinion that the PLA will not have much difficulty in capturing it.

The PLA is said to concentrating army strength on the southern tip of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces in preparation for an amphibious assault on Hainan.

Meanwhile the Nationalists have enforced conscription on Taiwan to bolster their forces there.

This was revealed by Kuomintang General Wu Te-chen upon his arrival at Manila on December 27 aboard a Kuomintang air force transport plane en route to Batavia to represent the Kuomintang at the inaugural ceremonies marking the establishment of the United States of Indonesia.

Chinese reports say that Kunming airfield and the city are under the control of Lu Han's defectionists who are waiting for General Liu Po-cheng's regulars to take over. Earlier there were reports of sporadic fighting on the outskirts of the city.

News dispatches reaching Hongkong from Canton say that rail service between Canton and Hankow would be resumed as from January 1. This followed the reconstruction of the Kukong Bridge which the Nationalists are said to have destroyed during their retreat.

KMT in Indo-China

ACCORDING to a *Reuters* dispatch from Hongkong, KMT commander Pai Chung-hsi is said to have had a conference with Wu Hong-ching, agent of the Bao Dai government, and further to have concluded a secret pact whereby the French permit Pai Chung-hsi's roops to enter Vietnam disguised as "Vietnam volunteers" from the neighbourhood of Lungchow in order to assist in the fighting against the Vietnam national liberation forces.

Remnants of two of Pai's armies are alleged to have already infiltrated into Vietnam to be reorganized into the so-called "Vietnam volunteers" in the French occupied area.

According to an *AFP* report from Saigon on December 15, large groups of KMT troops have followed their commanders into Vietnam.

* * *

Chennault Makes A Play

CHIEF Justice Sir Leslie Gibson of the Hongkong Supreme Court refused, on December 23, an application by Major-General Claire Chennault and Mr. Whiting Willauer, President and Vice-President respectively of the Civil Air Transport, to be joined as plaintiffs, with Chiang's Nationalists, in the action against certain employees of the Central Air Transport Corporation.

The CAT executives filed a petition with the Supreme Court against the defectionists of CATC and the China National Aviation Corporation following an announcement that they had bought assets of both airlines. On December 22, the plaintiffs dropped the action against CNAC employees.

Willauer said at a press conference that the intention of Chennault and himself was to assume all obligations of CNAC and CATC.

He said some cash was involved in the deal, but that he did not think it fair to disclose in advance the terms of the deal.

Willauer said he and Chennault took over the property as from December 12. He said that 12 planes which had been flown over to liberated territory of China were involved in the deal.

He said that they intended to continue operating the Civil Air Transport in Nationalist held territory. If possession were obtained of the CNAC and CATC planes, they would probably be operated elsewhere, Willauer declared. He admitted he had considered operating in Japan and Asian countries, but no negotiations had been initiated as yet.

In Peking on December 23, Chung Chih-ping, head of the Civil Aviation Bureau of the Central People's Government, made a statement regarding the illegal attempt of Chennault and Willauer to seize the properties of the two aviation companies.

Chung Chih-ping declared that, according to reports from Hongkong, the remnant Kuomintang is attempting to sell illegally the properties of the CNAC and CATC of the Central People's Government to two Americans—Chennault and Willauer.

He declared that all attempts of the Kuomintang, Chennault and Willauer to seize the property are not in any way legal because Clause 2 of Section 1 in the contract of the China National Aviation Corporation stipulates that shares of the CNAC are not to be sold to private persons, the *New China News Agency* reports.

Chung Chih-ping said that Premier Chou En-lai has pointed out that "the Hongkong Government must bear full responsibility if the properties of the two aviation corporations in Hongkong are illegally encroached upon, moved or damaged, and be responsible for the due consequences."

* * *

The Illegal Blockade

THE American State Department warned on December 17 that Shanghai and its approaches constituted a danger zone to shipping.

The warning was issued to all shipping companies, operators and ship masters, and said that American life and property should not be exposed to that danger.

State Department experts said that the warning did not constitute any recognition of the legality of the blockade.

In Washington on December 24 the State Department notified all American shipmasters that their licence can be revoked if they attempt to enter Shanghai.

The Department issued a specific warning to the master of the American freighter Flying Arrow at Fushan, in South Korea, in addition to the general warning.

* * *

China's Seamen Confer

THE conference of all-China seamen's representatives opened in Peking on December 20. The conference was attended by 60 representatives from 24 cities, including Shang-

hai, Tientsin, Hankow, Canton and Dairen, the *New China News Agency* reports.

The opening session heard a report by Li Li-san, president of the All-China Federation of Labor, who praised the heroic struggle of Chinese seamen against imperialists and capitalists in the past.

He said: "The big seamen's strike of 1925 in Hongkong was the first historical event in the Chinese working class movement and it gave great impetus to this movement." He pointed out that Chinese seamen should contine to manifest the glorious tradition of their forerunners.

Li Li-san called on the seamen to do their utmost to help the People's Liberation Army liberate Taiwan and Hainan islands in the near future, and to help the government overcome transport difficulties arising out of sabotage and blockade by Chiang Kai-shek's bandits. He also called upon China's seamen to unite with foreign seamen in common opposition to imperialism.

To carry out these tasks, Li Li-san stressed, the seamen must be organized.

* * *

American Arms Aid

SIGNING of a bilateral agreement between the Philippines and the United States, following the negotiations for United States military assistance, has just been disclosed by President Quirino, Manila reports on December 27.

The agreement, which could be a mere formality, is a requirement of the United States Congressional arms aid act before war equipment provided for in the assistance act can begin to flow into the Philippines.

An early agreement was possible, it was pointed out, due to the existence of a military base pact between the two countries.

President Quirino made the disclosure in a brief interview shortly before he attended a dinner given by the United States Ambassador, Mr. Myron M. Cowen.

* * *

Britain Aids Yugoslavia

BRITAIN and Yugoslavia have signed a trade agreement in Belgrade providing for an estimated £100,000,000 flow of goods each way in the next five years, the Board of Trade announced in London on December 26.

They have also signed an agreement on compensation for former British property in Yugoslavia, supplementing that signed in London last year. Under this agreement Yugoslavia will pay the balance of compensation at the rate of £506,000 a year for eight years.

Britain will export wool, wool and cotton yarns, chemicals, rubber and rubber products, machinery and capital equipment under the trade agreement. In return she will receive from Yugoslavia timber, nonferrous metals and maize.

The agreement also covers supply of raw materials from other sterling areas to Yugoslavia.

The British Government will provide a guaranteed credit of £8,000,000, repayable over six years. Substantial credit guarantees by the British Government are also contemplated.

* * *

Yugoslav, US Agreement

THE United States and Yugoslavia have signed a provisional air transport agreement to take effect immediately.

The agreement provides for the establishment of an air route by Yugoslavia to and from the American zone of Austria and Germany, while the United States is granted an air route to Belgrade and beyond.

An American airline to be designated by the United States Government—believed to be Pan-American Airways—will have the right to run non-stop traffic at Yugoslav civil airports.

It will also have the right to pick up and discharge international traffic, passengers and mail at Belgrade, on the route in both directions—United States, Belgrade, Europe and beyond.

The agreement will lead to the establishment of the first regular United States airline to the Balkans. It is expected to shorten considerably the Pan-American route to Istanbul.

* * *

Australian Deportation Law

THE Australian High Court has declared valid two acts giving the Australian Commonwealth Government power to deport 800 Chinese, Malay and Indonesian wartime refugees, some of whom are married to Australians.

The acts concerned are the wartime Refugees Act (1949) and the Immigration Act (1949).

The High Court decision was given in the case of 48 Chinese who challenged that they were illegal immigrants.

Former Immigration Minister Calwell had had legislation amended when Mrs. Annie O'Keefe, an Indonesian married to an Australian, successfully challenged the original acts.

Mr. H. E. Holt, newly appointed Minister of Immigration, declared that none of the 800 "illegal immigrants" will be deported until every case has been examined fully.

A spokesman for ten Chinese in Melbourne threatened with deportation said they had hopes that Mr. Holt would allow them to stay. But, he added, they live day by day in fear of the command to "pack up and leave."

Diplomas For Diplomats

THE United States will soon begin training Japanese diplomats as part of a policy of "speeding up readmission of Japan into the world family of nations," State Department officials have disclosed in Washington.

The first four of a group of 10 specially picked representatives of the Tokyo foreign office were due in Seattle on December 22 on their way to Washington.

They will receive training for 60 days in administration of the State Department, and its relations with Congress and other agencies.

It was disclosed at the same time that preparations are going forward to bring several hundred Japanese members of parliament, journalists, government administrators and students to the United States in the next few months to "make them familiar with democratic processes." Some are already reported on the way.

* * *

Nazi Victims Victimized

MAX Isenbergh, legal representative of the American Jewish Committee said in Paris, on his return from Austria on December 19, that a bill before the Austrian parliament would make it virtually impossible for victims of nazi persecution to recover property lost during the German occupation.

Even people who had recovered their homes or other property could be forced to go back into the courts and in most cases would lose what was restored to them, Isenbergh said.

"This bill provides that no restitution shall be made if an 'appropriate sum' was paid for the property," he said.

Some 50,000 pieces of property of Jews and others were put on the market at the same time. Hence prices naturally fell to ridiculously low levels. Yet these depressed prices can be considered as appropriate recompense by a hostile court.

The dispossessed owner often did not even get the depressed price that was paid, or if he did it was usually confiscated by the nazis.

Isenbergh said the bill was introduced in keeping with promises made in the Austrian election campaign last October.

* * *

Hongkong Strike Law

THE Hongkong government is speeding up new emergency laws to deal with a possible general strike, usually reliable sources said in Hongkong on December 26.

Government officials declined to comment on this report.

Chinese tramwaymen in the colony are putting into operation their threat of a go-slow strike in support of their wages and conditions claims and refuse to collect fares.

It is thought that other utility companies unions, which are also involved in a dispute with employers,

Chinese Magazines Say:

China must regain former status as major cotton producing country then strive towards self-sufficiency; production needs estimated.

A high priority issue brought before the recent All China Agricultural Conference in Peking was the local production of raw cotton to feed China's hungry cotton mills. An interesting article by Wang Hung in the December 6 issue of *Hsin Chien Shih* (New Reconstruction) gives some background facts and figures which may be useful for reference when the decisions of the Conference are made known.

"China is a major cotton producing country," writes Wang Hung, "and one best suited to the cultivation of that crop. The normal production for China ranks third in the world. According to statistics for 1937, China during that year had a total cotton cultivation area of 59,316,344 mow, with a crop of 12,713,600 piculs of raw cotton." But during the years of the war against Japan and the civil war, he continues, agricultural production has fallen to desperately low levels, and cotton production in particular has been so hard hit that in order to feed even a percentage of her former mills, China has been forced to rely upon increasingly large imports of raw cotton from overseas. The development of agricultural production and the promotion of light industries both depend upon much increased supplies of raw cotton. Now that the liberation of the whole country is almost completed this major economic problem can be given full attention.

"According to statistics compiled in 1946," the writer informs us, "the country possessed a total of 4,500,000 spindles. Calculated at the consumption rate of 2.4 piculs per spindle, the cotton industry in the country needs 11,000,000 piculs of raw cotton. To this must be added about 3,000,000 piculs needed by the hand spinning industry and another 4,750,000 piculs to take care of the population's clothing needs (at the rate of one catty per capita.) Thus a total output of 18,500,000 piculs must be reached if the country is to be self-sufficient in cotton. And if industry is to be developed and the people's living standard to be raised, the textile industry must be expanded to at least 10,000,000 spindles. In such circumstances, an annual production of 35,000,000 piculs of cotton is called for. Judging from the natural conditions of the country, such a production (for which 100,000,000 mow of cotton fields will be needed) is not altogether impossible....

"Data relating to the current year's cotton production is very incomplete. According to the information the writer has at hand, a comparatively reliable estimate of production in the various areas is: North China, 3,000,000 piculs; Central China, 1,700,000 piculs; the Northwest, 800,000 piculs; East China, 2,100,000 piculs; and the Northeast, 400,000 piculs. These add up to a grand total of only 8,000,000 piculs, which must be quite near the actual figures. Out of this production of 8,000,000 piculs, at least 30 percent must be earmarked for miscellaneous use by the people. Thus only 5,600,000 piculs are available for the textile industry. According to latest investigations, the various textile mills have about 4,358,562 spindles, 3,253,559 of which are in active operation. Even this spindlage calls for a supply of 7,000,000 piculs, so that there is a minimum deficiency of 1,400,000 piculs. In these circumstances, it is natural that the cotton mills are not in a position to work full shifts. This is the reason the government has taken the emergency measure of exempting import duties on all raw cotton."

There are three main lines along which efforts for increased cotton production must be directed, says the writer. They are: 1) restoration and development of the area of cultivation, 2) increase of yield per mow, and 3) improvement of seeds and quality of yield.

"During the National Cotton Conference held in October," he reports, "a decision was reached to increase the acreage of cotton cultivation to 50,000,000 mow in 1950. This will lead to a total production of about 13,000,000 piculs, which only means the restoration of cotton acreage to pre-war levels, and does not imply any real extension." Wang Hung adds, "This objective should not be difficult to attain with the concerted efforts of the People's Government."

He continues: "The increase of cotton yield per mow is also an important measure. By the successful use of any one of the methods of selected seeds, improving cultivation methods, increased use of fertilizers, regulation of conservancy projects, and prevention measures against pests and insects, production may be increased from 10 to 30 percent. If all the methods are employed simultaneously it is possible to increase the yield per mow by 50 percent. Since cotton is to be chiefly used industrially, the improvement of its quality is also of importance. Much was done even before the war in the cultivation of improved species in selected areas along the Yellow River Basin."

may also strike should action be taken against the tramwaymen.

In Hongkong tramcars were crowded with non-paying passengers, some of whom took advantage of free Christmas joy-rides.

* * *

Bacteriological War Charge

MOSCOW Radio reported on December 24 that twelve members of the Japanese armed forces, including General Yamada, former commander-in-chief of the Kwantung Army, had been charged with preparing bacteriological warfare against the Soviet Union during the Second World War.

It was stated that the Japanese intended to use, and did use bacteriological weapons.

General Yamada, according to the report, confirmed in his testimony that branches of bacteriological establishments were under his direct command.

The Japanese, it was said, intended to carry out this bacteriological warfare in three ways: by spreading bacteria from the air, dropping bacteriological bombs, and sabotage.

General Yamada confessed to permitting experiments to be made on human beings—Chinese and Soviet citizens.

The twelve Japanese, who will be tried by a military tribunal, are charged in accordance with Article 1 of the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of 1943.

* * *

Strikes in Japan

NEWS from Tokyo says that, spurred to action by a sudden strike of railway workers, unions estimated to represent 5,000,000 workers conferred on December 14 on a common stand for wage claims and bonuses.

Observers report that a wave of discontent is sweeping the country.

Big unions at present negotiating for higher pay and year-end bonuses include those representing teachers, postal workers, city transport employees, Japanese serving in the occupation forces, printers, textile workers, seamen, provision workers and employees of the Government Monopoly Bureau.

The railway workers' hunger strike for more pay was called off on December 13 after two strikers had fallen critically ill.

Union leaders said they were satisfied that the stoppage had forced the government to bring their claims before Parliament.

* * *

Soekarno Installed

KUOMINTANG and Papal representatives and military observers of the United Nations Commission to Indonesia were among the "distinguished" audience on December 18 when Dr. Soekarno was formally installed as first President of the United States of Indonesia at a ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Palace of the Sultan of Jogjakarta.

Dr. Kusumartmadja, Chief Justice of the Indonesian Supreme Court, administered the oath of office.

Soekarno will form a Cabinet Council this week. He will choose a Prime Minister and eight other Ministers to

aid him in his task of governing the new Union.

An Indonesian budget deficit of 1,304,900,000 guilders for the end of the year was forecast in Batavia on December 23 in the last Dutch financial review before the assumption of sovereignty by the United States of Indonesia.

Dr. A. Oudt, Financial Secretary, said in the review that revenue for the current year would be 2,602,200,000 guilders, and expenditure 3,907,100,000 guilders.

Indonesia's foreign debt was 3,698,000,000 guilders, and her internal debt was 2,480,000,000 guilders.

Military and defence expenditure this year totalled 1,227,000,000 guilders in contrast with 145,000,000 guilders spent on education and 14,600,000 guilders on public health.

Dr. Oudt said a reduction in military costs, increased taxation and drastic economies should enable the new government to balance the budget by 1952.

On December 25, Mohammed Hatta arrived in Schipol, Holland, with six other members of the delegation which will receive the instrument of United States of Indonesia's sovereignty from Queen Juliana of the Netherlands.

Asked by reporters his opinion of the new Union Cabinet, Hatta said it was a compromise "between a business and a political cabinet — a business cabinet with the backing of political parties."

Arriving on the same day from America was Dr. Lambertus Palar, representative of the original Jogjakarta Republic of Indonesia at the United Nations. He said he had come for talks with Hatta on the line he should follow at Lake Success

Chinese Papers Say:

Occasion of Stalin's 70th birthday celebrated as important event; KMT underground ring apprehended by Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau.

ALL of the Shanghai papers devoted considerable space to the celebrations in honor of Stalin's 70th birthday. The *Giefang Rhbao*, the official Communist Party paper, on December 21 in an article written on the subject of "Long Live Stalin," stressed the close ties between China and the Soviet Union: "Under the leadership of Stalin, the socialist system built on unshakable foundations and deprived of human exploitation relations is continuously advancing on the great road toward Communism, showing clearly the correct path that must be followed by all humanity. The freedom and fraternal unity among the various national groups in the Soviet Union, and the strongly entrenched alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals, testify to the fact that the Soviet form of political organization is superior to any other form of political organization.

"Particularly after the thorough defeat of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan during the Second World War, the Soviet Union has become an unparalleled power in the world. It is the strong bastion of all the peaceful and democratic forces of the whole world. The Soviet Union serves as the common example to be emulated by all the peaceful, democratic and progressive forces of the working people the world over. The existence and unparallelled strength of the Soviet Union has changed the face of the world, greatly encouraged the development of the revolutionary movements of the people of all nations, and provided the most reliable safeguard for world peace. And the existence and unparalleled strength of the Soviet Union is inseparable from the name of Stalin. Accordingly, the people of the whole Soviet Union, and indeed the working people of the whole world, are deeply grateful to Stalin for his colossal contributions to the Soviet Union and to all the progressive elements of humanity, and are unanimous in their zeal in the joyous celebration of his 70th birthday."

Continuing, the article said that the people of China were very enthusiastic about Stalin's birthday because under his leadership the Soviet Union has been the closest friend of the Chinese people.

Concluding on the point as how best to celebrate this 70th birthday of Stalin, the article refers to the words of Chairman Mao ten years ago on the occasion of Stalin's 60th birthday when he called upon the people to 'congratulate him, support him, and learn from him.'

"As to learning, it means we must learn assiduously from the Soviet Union, from Stalin. We must learn the experiences of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union to intensify our efforts in the reconstruction of our new nation; learn the theoretical doctrine and practical tasks of Stalin to raise higher our level of the theoretical understanding of Marx-Leninism so that in our great task of the new democratic reconstruction of our country, in our great task for the cause of world peace and democracy, we may produce greater effects and fulfil successfully our historic mission.

"For the welfare and the future of all humanity, we wish long life to Stalin."

* * *

KMT Agents Arrested

The *Sin Wen Jih Pao* on December 21 comments on the arrest of a number of KMT bandits in an article entitled, "Chiang Ching-kuo's Bandit Special Service Case Broken by Shanghai Public Security Bureau." Pointing out that since liberation a number of special service rings organized by Chiang Ching-kuo have been smashed by the army and police authorities, the article states that the apprehension of the bogus Chinese People's Self-Salvation and National Salvation Association resulted in the arrest of more than 70 KMT agents.

In January a number of the leaders of this bogus Association organized a secret special service nuclear agency named the "Revolutionary National Salvation League" which was supposed to carry out "a dying struggle in the areas which would soon be liberated." The principals involved were commanders of the bogus Youth Service Corps of the Greater Shanghai Municipality as well as members of the bogus "Revolutionary National Salvation League." The article goes on to say that some of these people sneaked into Shanghai from Ningpo and other places after liberation, assembled the remnant members of their various groups in Shanghai, the suburbs and the Chusan Archipelago with the intention of setting up four branches of the "Association" in Shanghai. "Meanwhile, preparations were made for the setting up of a volunteer work corps of the 'Association', which would serve as an auxiliary agency.

"These bandits have been disseminating rumors, writing threatening letters to intimidate Shanghai residents, and distributing handbills of a reactionary nature. In the repair plant of the Shanghai Public Transit Company, they plotted to destroy all the omnibuses and properties of the Company by arson. However, this attempt was nipped in the bud."

At the end of October a number of arrests were made and "from these subversive elements it was discovered that all the three assassination cases which happened in Pootung lately had been committed by bandits of the said 'Column." During the month of November the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau collected additional information on the activities of these subversive groups and started large-scale arrests which together with those implicated in Pootung activities involved more than 70 people including a number of the leaders.

"It is learned," concludes the article, "that all the four principal culprits involved in this case will be given capital punishment after approval by the Shanghai Military Control Committee. As for the accomplices who have been coerced to join the gang, they will be dealt with leniently according to the degree of severity of their offenses."

The Week's Business

Markets quiet during week; ruble rate set in Tientsin but dollar still regarded as most important foreign exchange.

BOTH the commodity and financial markets in Shanghai were quiet during the week under review from December 21 to 28. At this corresponding period during past years, it will be recalled, commodity prices used to soar. This year, however, prices are steady, as a result of the efforts of the authorities to equalize supply and demand in the market and eliminate speculative activities.

In the financial market, the total turnover at the Clearing House for the week ending December 24 declined by some 20 percent in comparison with the previous week, which was partly attributed to the bank holiday on Tuesday for the semi-annual settlement of accounts. Interest rates on call loans were low, ranging between JMP12 and JMP14 per mille per day. A considerable number of factories are reported to have applied for loans from the Joint Loan Release Board of the Shanghai State and Private Banks, which has JMP12,000,000,000 to release as a step to help local factories maintain their production.

Foreign exchange rates underwent two revisions, and restrictions on parity deposits were further eased during the week. The revisions in the foreign exchange rates, while stimulating to the export trade, were timely, as a large amount of overseas remittance is expected around this time of the year. Recent press reports indicate that the exporters may net a 40 percent profit on the export of tung oil, following these revisions.

On December 25, the East China Foreign Trade Control Bureau announced a set of measures governing the control of marketing and export of hog bristles. While private merchants are not to conduct the export of bristles, they are permitted to make collections in producing areas and sell the bristles to the state trading organ, for which they may still obtain a profit. On December 26, the first day, the China Hog Bristle Processing Corporation purchased a total of some 2,500 catties of bristles.

In anticipation of the development of Sino-Soviet foreign trade, the Tientsin Branch of the Bank of China announced on December 23 the T/T rate of Russian rubles at one ruble to JMP4,339. (The rate of rubles in the international market is around 20 US cents). It is expected that the official rate for rubles for Shanghai will be announced some time in the early part of 1950 as soon as there is a demand.

It has been pointed out, however, that because China's trade is closely connected with those countries using US dollars for calculation of trade values and payment, the US dollar will remain the most important foreign exchange of the Foreign Exchange Market of the Bank of China. This is especially important because of the large sums of private foreign exchange, mostly US dollars, which are being used for the payment of imports and the large sums of remittances which the overseas Chinese are sending back to China every month.

The third period business tax, covering the two months of November and December 1949 in Shanghai, is scheduled to be collected during the period from January 1 to 10, 1950. In his speech at a recent meeting sponsored by the Shanghai Federation of Industry and Commerce, Director Wang Chi-hua of the Direct Tax Bureau, reported that Shanghai's taxation burden is lighter than that of North China and the Northeast. The industrial and commercial enterprises of Shanghai are four times the size of those in Tientsin, he said, while the business tax collected in the two cities has been in the proportion of five to four.

Mr. Wang stated that a total of JMP7,600,000,000 was collected in business taxes in Shanghai for the months of June, July and August, with 53.85 percent of the taxable amount exempted from tax. For the two months of September and October, JMP4,500,000,000 was collected, with 39.39 percent exempted from tax.

Meanwhile, coinciding with the nation-wide campaign to buy Victory Bonds, a special committee has been organized in Shanghai by the Consultative Committee of the Shanghai People's Delegates' Council for pushing the sale of these bonds. The employees and workers of various local government and private enterprises have started a campaign challenging each other in subscribing to the bonds with their New Year bonus payments.

Quotations

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Dec. 21 JMP	Dec. 28 JMP
Parity Unit	2,904	3,019
US dollar (note)	17,000	18,500
20's yarn	3,170,000	3,170,000
12-lb. cloth	136,000	136,000
Rice, 1st grade	127,000	134,000
Peanut oil	275,000	300,000
Coal briquette	21,500	21,500

"now that the Indonesian Jogjakarta Republic has been absorbed into the United States of Indonesia."

* * *

Atomic Power Stations

ON December 26, Moscow Radio forecast atomic power stations capable of providing cheap electricity for the whole of the Soviet Union.

Professor M. Krishizhanovsky, a power expert, said that cheap power would gradually eliminate the difference between manual and brain workers.

Electrification of the Soviet Union, he said, had progressed so satisfactorily that today Russia was leading in the production of electric power from the most varied sources of energy.

Soon new and hitherto unknown sources of power, including atomic power stations, would be in operation, he said.

* * *

While Rome Simmers

IN Vatican City on December 24 Pope Pius XII opened the 25th Holy Year of the Catholic Church.

In a ceremony of unparalleled splendor, the 73-year-old Pontiff struck open the Holy Door of St. Peter's with an ivory and gold hammer. Then he entered the Basilica, the first of 3,000,000 pilgrims expected during the Jubilee year.

Throughout the 90-minute ceremony, the Papal physician, Dr. Riccardo Galerssi Lisi, watched anxiously over the tall, frail figure of the Pope, burdened by gold-embroidered vestments, with a 22-foot train, and wearing the triple gold crown studded with diamonds, emeralds and rubies.

* * *

Left-wing circles in Rome are claiming that the presence of Franco Spain's foreign minister Alberto Artajo in Rome, heading the Spanish delegation to the Holy Year opening ceremonies, heralds an alliance between Franco Spain and Italy.

Spanish sources said that Senor Artajo's visits to Premier De Gasperi and other Italian government heads were purely courtesy calls.

On December 24, demonstrators gathered outside the Spanish Embassy in Rome. They jeered at persons entering and leaving the Embassy. Some of them carried placards reading: "De Gasperi takes over where Mussolini left off."

A group of Communist youths were alleged to have overturned an empty car. The police later arrested 15 people.

The same day, in Rome, trade unions staged a general strike to protest against the police ban on peasants' demonstrations.

The peasants were preparing a demonstration against government "procrastination" in splitting up big landlords' estates among peasant smallholders.

Later the strike was called off after Minister of the Interior Mario Scelba had agreed with Signor Giuseppe de Vittorio, leader of the Trade Union Federation, to release 400 arrested peasants.

LETTERS •

(Continued from Page 65)

arrested by Nationalist spies last summer, and it was said that Chang cooperated with the chairman of the province in these arrests.

Now we are all awaiting the arrival of a new president and are sure that in the future we shall be able to lead a happy life.

WU MING-FU

Kweiyang
November 24, 1949

GOOD MOVIE

To The Editor:

I've just returned from taking my children to see "The Wanderings of San Mao" (Three Hairs), an excellent Chinese film.

Sets, filming, costuming and make-up are done with accuracy and finesse. Technical flaws are absent from this production. The performance is marked throughout by the incomparable talent the Chinese have for characterization and a typically Chinese sense of tragicomedy. Neither would be considered overdone, however, by anyone who reflects on the shape of things before liberation.

After a seemingly unbearable burden of society's rebuffs, the innate goodness of "Three Hairs'" happy and indomitable spirit is shown during the victory parade of the People's Liberation Army, with "Three Hairs" and his pals joining the "yanko."

MOVIEGOER

Tientsin
December 12, 1949

Through 1949 With Nehru—Champion Of Liberty

Washington, Dec. 19:

"FATHER Jerome D. Souza, principal of Loyala College, Madras, said on Monday night that Christians in India looked on Pandit Nehru as the champion of civil and religious liberties for all communities. In an address prepared for delivery to Washington's Catholic University on 'Christianity in New India,' Father Souza, who is with the Indian delegation to the United Nations, said Christians in India favored all anti-Communist measures taken by the government."—*North China Daily News*, Dec. 21.

* * *

Bombay, Feb. 19: (AP)

"Police launched an India-wide roundup of Communists today, seeking to head off a threatened strike of 1,000,000 railway employees. The arrests were made under a law which permits indefinite detention on suspicion.... Dispatches from Hyderabad, where the Communists claim great strength, said hundreds would probably be jailed....Fifty railway workers were arrested at the western cities of Surat and Baroda. Numerous arrests were reported in south Indian towns including Trechinopoly. Twenty were jailed in Calcutta and 12 at Benares. At Nagpur in central India, 10 were arrested. At New Delhi the government announced the arrest of Master Tara Singh, leader of the Akali Dal, a Sikh communal party. This arrest has no relationship to the Communist roundup."—*North China Daily News*, Feb. 21, 1949.

New Delhi, Feb. 28: (Reuter)

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told Parliament this morning communism had no place in the dominion and would be driven out of the subcontinent by every means available short of war....Nehru said he was reluctant to declare any organization illegal. But the Communist Party of India could not move a finger now without being suspect, he added."—*China Press*, March 1, 1949.

New Delhi, March 5: (Reuter)

"Two thousand five hundred Communists are now detained in India under the Public Safety Act, authoritative sources disclosed here today. In addition nearly 4,000 Communists have so far been arrested in the state of Hyderabad since it joined the Dominion of India last September."—*North China Daily News*, March 6, 1949.

Bombay, May 20: (UP)

"A special tribunal in the Taigunda district of Hyderabad sentenced eight Communist leaders to death and four other Communists to short prison terms, according to a press dispatch from Hyderabad today. The prison terms ranged from three to five years."—*North China Daily News*, May 22, 1949.

Calcutta, Oct. 11:

"Salt, which Gandhi once used as a weapon in India's struggle for independence, is being used today by Calcutta's shopkeepers to squeeze the consuming public.... A feeling bordering on panic seized the city as purchasers sought supplies far and wide and shopkeepers held back stocks for prices to rise."—*North China Daily News*, Oct. 13, 1949.

Bombay, Oct. 13:

"Armed police pickets and radio-equipped police vans patrolled Bombay's streets on Thursday following four cases of looting of grocers' establishments in the city. In Natjinga, a northern suburb of Bombay, 11 people were wounded when police fired 13 shots to disperse the crowd pelting stones at stores and looting stocks of sugar, salt and boxes of matches.... Sporadic periods of scarcity and resultant hoarding and profiteering involving sugar, salt and other goods have been reported from Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and other parts of India this month.... Official sources attributed the shortage of salt and other goods to 'inspired rumors.'"—*North China Daily News*, Oct. 15, 1949.

Washington, Oct. 14:

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told a cheering House of Representatives here that India 'cannot and shall not be neutral where freedom is menaced or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place ....We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral.'"—*North China Daily News*, Oct. 15, 1949.

Bombay, Oct. 14:

"The Bombay government today ordered a seven-day ban on meetings and processions in the city and suburbs after yesterday's incidents over the scarcity of sugar and salt. Eleven people were injured yesterday when police fired on a crowd trying to loot provision stores in a northern suburb....The Bombay premier, Mr. B. G. Nher, told the Provincial Assembly the 'scarcity scare' was inspired by Communists."—*North China Daily News*, October 16, 1949.

London, Nov. 25:

"The influential *Economist* today criticized the 'excessive cost of government' as 'by far the biggest single factor throttling the Indian economy....The 50 percent of the Indian budget that is to be spent on defense next year compares with some 34 percent of the American and 23 percent of the British. There is no call whatever for such expenditure unless Delhi means to use its forces against Pakistan—which Mr. Nehru had flatly denied.'"—*North China Daily News*, Nov. 27, 1949.

Peking, December 4: (NCNA)

"Amita Devi, Indian delegate to the Asian Women's Conference (said)....In two years of Congress rule in West Bengal, among others, 32 women have been shot to death by the police in demonstrations. On one occasion the police fired 70 rounds into a demonstration of men, women and children in Calcutta. In the village of Hatal, near Calcutta, on September 9, famished peasant women went to demand food from the landlord and the police fired and killed 10 women and two children on the spot and wounded several others. In Calcutta the police fired on a demonstration of women on April 27 of this year and killed four leaders of the women's movement of Bengal.... The crowning achievement of the Nehru government is revealed by the fact that it has been able to put 30,000 men and women democrats in prison in such a short while."—*New China News Agency Daily News Release*, Dec. 5, 1949.

The Review's English Lesson CXII

Vocabulary and Descriptive Phrases

THIS week we quote from an article by Mr. Harold L. Ickes entitled "The State Department's Siesta," which appeared in the May 23, 1949 edition of the magazine *New Republic*. Mr. Ickes, a former cabinet member in the Roosevelt administration, is well known for his sharp and outspoken style of expression on current events.

THE use of the word **siesta** in the title implies that the US State Department has been sleeping while danger threatens, since the word **siesta**, taken from the Spanish, means "a short sleep, or a nap."

Mr. Ickes writes: "The evasions and **double talk** going on in official circles in the United States with respect to Spain are highly disturbing. Is the United States **conniving, sub rosa,** with pro-Franco sympathizers in other countries so that Franco will be able to **insinuate his nose under the United Nations tent?** Certain signs point in this direction. Consequently, those of us who appraise the bloody-handed Franco as the butcher that he is should serve notice on the State Department and the Army that no **sellout** of democratic principles will prevent us from holding **accountable** those who would **sully** American honor by a friendly **assignation** with the Spanish dictator."

In the above paragraph the term **double talk** refers to meaningless and intentionally confusing talk. The word **conniving** means acting together in wrong-doing, or plotting; while the term **sub rosa** means secretly, or under cover. The phrase **insinuate his nose under the United Nations tent** is an obvious reference to the old story of the traveller in the desert who on a cold night took pity on his camel and permitted the beast to thrust his nose under the traveller's tent. The camel, however, gradually **insinuated** his entire body into the tent, thus driving the traveller out. The word **sellout** is an American slang expression to describe an act of betrayal, or treachery. To hold a person **accountable** means to fix the responsility upon him for his actions. To **sully** America's honor means to damage, soil or harm it. To damage a person's good name is to **sully** his reputation. The word **assignation,** pronounced (ass-ig-nay-shun), has come to be used in America to denote a secret meeting of the opposite sexes for immoral purposes.

The article continues: "Americans who condemned Hitler and Mussolini should not be deceived by the **illusory** arguments for **recognizing** Franco, the little brother of Hitler and Mussolini, or admitting him to the United Nations. Everyone of any intelligence knows that if Franco is permitted such an association, it will be with the knowledge and consent of our government, whatever the State Department may pretend to the contrary. America can and should prevent any **white-washing** of Franco with a view to permitting him **ultimately** to **creep into the bed of the democracies."**

In the paragraph above, **illusory** arguments are false and misleading arguments. **Recognizing** Franco means to establish formal diplomatic relations with the Franco regime. The term **white-wash** has its origin in a mixture of lime and water which, when applied to walls, ceilings, fences, etc., greatly improves their appearance. For example, a politician charged with election fraud, or other misconduct, often escapes punishment by being **white-washed,** or absolved of guilt, by his political party and sympathetic newspapers. The word **ultimately** means finally, in the end, at last. To **creep into the bed of the democracies** means to gain a full partnership in the Anglo-American bloc of nations.

The article goes on to say: "Franco is already reaching into Washington to weaken our **will**. I wonder how many Americans have even heard of Dr. Jose de Lequerica, the wealthy lawyer of Bilbao, Spain, who has spent about a year in Washington **cunningly** weaving a **web** for our entanglement. The name of this agent of Franco does not appear in the Congressional Directory as an **attache** of the Spanish Embassy. After the defeat of the American and Philippine troops at Corregidor, this **vassal** of Franco gave an **ostentatious** dinner in honor of the Japanese in Vichy (France), to celebrate the death and capture of US soldiers. Does our State Department know about the activities of this **undercover** agent of Franco's? If the State Department knows anything about this **nest of adders,** it persists in maintaining a strange silence. There is strong evidence of America's official willingness to become a silent, if inactive, partner in the conspiracy that is **afoot** to white-wash the bloody hands of Franco."

In the first sentence of the paragraph above we find the expression "to weaken our **will.**" The word **will** as used here may be defined as "a determined choice or desire" and it seems apparent that Mr. Ickes had in mind the American people's determination to oppose fascism. During the Fascist rebellion in Spain the overwhelming majority of the American people favored the Spanish Republican Government and it is this **will** to continue to oppose fascism that Franco is attempting to weaken. The word **cunningly** means "slyly or craftily." When forming the phrase "weaving a **web** for our entanglement" Mr. Ickes seems to have intentionally used **web** rather than the more commonly used word, net, for the sake of emphasis, since the web of the crafty spider, woven with great care to entangle its victims, has a much more sinister and menacing implication. An **attache,** pronounced (at-ash-ay), is a member of the diplomatic staff of an embassy or legation. In ancient times **vassal** was known as a slave but in modern usage it has come to mean something closer to the term "running dog," as used in China. The word **ostentation** means "elaborate and impressive." The term **undercover** generally refers to some secret activity. A **nest of adders** is an expression used by Ickes to compare Franco's undercover agents in Washington to a collection of poisonous snakes. The word **afoot** is used in the above paragraph to describe something as being under way, i.e., plans are afoot, a conspiracy is afoot. This word has another and different meaning which is "to go on foot, to walk."

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